THE

GRECIAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE EARLIEST STATE,

TO THE

DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

BY DR. GOLDSMITH.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A

SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE,

FROM

THAT PERIOD,

TO

THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE OTHOMANS.

1510

A NEW EDITION.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S ... MAHAL

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.
1510

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

WHEN Philip found himſelf ſhut out of Greece by the Athenians, he turned his arms againſt thoſe remote places which depended on them, either as colonies, or as conqueſts; and particularly againſt the Olynthians, whom he had long looked upon with an evil eye, but whom he had courted and cajoled whilſt he was otherwiſe employed. But he came now reſolved entirely to reduce them; and, advancing towards the city, only ſent them a ſhort meſſage, to let them know that one of theſe two points was become neceſſary—either that they muſt quit Olynthus, or

he Macedonia. Whereupon they ſent immediately to Athens for relief. The ſubject was debated there with great ſolemnity, and Demoſthenes was very earneſt in ſending them ſuccours: he was oppoſed by Demades and Hyperides. The opinion, however, of Demoſthenes prevailed; the people of Athens reſolved to unite againſt Philip, but the great difficulty lay in furniſhing the ſupplies: their principal fund, which had formerly ſerved the purpoſes of war, had long been converted to the uſe of the ſtage. The money ariſing from this fund was computed at a thouſand talents a year; and a certain proportion of it was allotted to the citizens to defray the charge of their admittance into the theatre. This diſtribution having been continued to them from the time of Pericles, they claimed it now as their right, eſpecially ſince they had lately obtained a law which made it capital to propoſe the reſtoring the fund to the uſes for which it was originally granted. Hence it was that, upon any preſſing emergency, extraordinary taxes were to be raiſed: and they were laid ſo unequally, and collected with ſo much difficulty, that they ſeldom anſwered the ſervice for which they were intended.

Demoſthenes treated this ſubject with the utmoſt art and circumſpection. After ſhewing that the Athenians were indiſpenſably obliged to raiſe an army, in order to ſtop the enterprizes of their aſpiring

afpiring enemy, he afferted, that the theatrical fund was the only probable mean of fupply. Thefe remonftrances had fome weight, but were not attended with deferved fuccefs. The Athenians fent a reinforcement to Olynthus; but Philip, who had corrupted the principal men in the town, entered, plundered it, and fold the inhabitants among the reft of the fpoil. His two baftard brothers, who were among the captured, he put to death, as he had formerly done the other. Juftin fays, that the protection which the Olynthians had given his brothers, was the plea which he ufed for attacking them. Here he found much treafure, which ferved to affift him in his further encroachments.

In the mean time the Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war which they had fo long carried on againft the Phocians, addreffed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had obferved a kind of neutrality with refpect to the Sacred War, and he feemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himfelf; that is, till both parties fhould have weakened themfelves by a long war, which equally exhaufted both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtinefs, and thofe ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had infpired them. The inftant, therefore, they requefted the alliance of

Philip, he refolved to efpoufe the intereft of that republic in oppofition to the Phocians. He had not loft fight of the project he had formed of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himfelf mafter of it. To give fuccefs to his defign, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece; that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not fo void of fenfe as to imagine that the latter party would affift his defign of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themfelves voluntarily to him, and who ftood in need of Philip's power to fupport themfelves in their declining condition; he therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a fpecious colour to his arms, befides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he alfo pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired with regard to the violated god, and was very glad to pafs for a religious prince, who warmly efpoufed the caufe of the god and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means, the efteem and friendfhip of the Greeks.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart than to poffefs himfelf of Thermopylæ, as it opened to

to him a paſſage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the Sacred War to himſelf, as if he had been principal in that affair; and to preſide in the Pythian games. He was therefore deſirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to poſſeſs himſelf of Phocis. But then, in order to put this double deſign in execution, it was neceſſary for him to keep it ſecret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war againſt Thebes, and who, for many years, had been in alliance with the Phocians. His buſineſs, therefore, was to make them change their meaſures, by placing other objects in their view; and on this occaſion the politics of Philip ſucceeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthenſome, and of little benefit to them, had commiſſioned Cteſiphon and Phrynon to ſound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he ſtood diſpoſed in regard to peace. Theſe related, that Philip did not appear averſe to it; and that he even expreſſed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this the Athenians reſolved to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to enquire more ſtrictly into the truth of things, and to procure the laſt explanations previouſly neceſſary to ſo important a negociation. Æſchines and Demoſthenes were among the ten ambaſſadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and

Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commiſſion very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this they were immediately ſent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then that Demoſthenes, who, in his firſt embaſſy, had met ſome Athenian captives in Macedonia, and promiſed to return and ranſom them at his own expence, endeavoured to enable himſelf to keep his word; and, in the mean time, adviſed his colleagues to embark with the utmoſt expedition, as the republic had commanded, and to wait as ſoon as poſſible upon Philip, in what place ſoever he might be. However, theſe, inſtead of making a ſpeedy diſpatch, as they were deſired, travelled like ambaſſadors; proceeded to Macedonia by land, ſtaid three months in that country, and gave Philip time to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral other ſtrong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At laſt, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agreed with him upon the articles of peace; but he, having lulled them aſleep with the ſpecious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. In the mean time he found means to corrupt the ambaſſadors, one after another, by preſents, Demoſthenes excepted; who, being but one, oppoſed his colleagues to no manner of purpoſe.

Philip

Philip being ſuffered quietly to purſue his march into Phocis, gained the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, but did not immediately diſcover what uſe he intended to make of his entrance into Greece; but went on, according to his agreement with the Thebans, to put an end to the Phocian war, which he eaſily effected. His name and appearance ſtruck ſuch a terror among the Phocians, that though they had lately received a reinforcement of a thouſand heavy-armed Spartans, under the command of their king, Archidamus, they declined giving him battle, and ſent to treat with him, or rather to ſubmit themſelves to any terms that he would grant them. He allowed Phalicus to retire with eight thouſand men, being mercenaries, into Peloponneſus; but the reſt, who were the inhabitants of Phocis, were left at his mercy. As the diſpoſing of them was a matter wherein Greece in general was concerned, he did not think fit to act in it by his own private authority, but referred it to the Amphictyons, whom he cauſed to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. But they were ſo much under his influence, that they ſerved only to give a ſanction to his determinations. They decreed, that all the cities of Phocis ſhould be demoliſhed; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in the ſacrilege, ſhould be ſtigmatized as accurſed, and proſcribed as out-laws; that they who remained as inhabitants

habitants ſhould be diſperſed in villages, and obliged to pay out of their lands a yearly tribute of ſixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple ſhould be reſtored: they were likewiſe adjudged to loſe their ſeat in the council of the Amphyctions, wherein they had a double voice. This Philip got transferred to himſelf, which was a very material point, and may be looked upon as the principal ſtep towards his gaining that authority which he afterwards exerciſed in the affairs of Greece. At the ſame time he gained, in conjunction with the Thebans and Theſſalians, the ſuperintendency of the Pythian games, which the Corinthians had forfeited, for their having taken part with the Phocians.

Philip having, by theſe plauſible methods, ſucceeded in this expedition, did not think it adviſeable, by attempting any thing further at preſent, to ſully the glory he had acquired by it, or to incenſe the body of the Grecians againſt him: wherefore he returned, in a triumphant manner, to his own dominions. After ſettling his conqueſts at home, he marched into Theſſaly; and having extirpated the remains of tyranny in the ſeveral cities there, he not only confirmed the Theſſalians in his intereſt, but gained over many of their neighbours.

It

It was upon this occaſion that Philip was remarked for an act of private juſtice, which far outweighs his public celebrity. A certain ſoldier in the Macedonian army had, in many inſtances diſtinguiſhed himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On ſome occaſion he embarked on board a veſſel, which was wrecked by a violent ſtorm, and he himſelf caſt on the ſhore helpleſs and naked, and ſcarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whoſe lands were contiguous to the ſea, came opportunely to be a witneſs of his diſtreſs; and, with all humane and charitable tenderneſs, flew to the relief of the unhappy ſtranger. He bore him to his houſe, laid him in his own bed, revived, cheriſhed, comforted, and for forty days ſupplied him freely with all the neceſſaries and conveniences which his languiſhing condition could require. The ſoldier, thus happily reſcued from death, was inceſſant in the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude to his benefactor, aſſured him of his intereſt with the king, and of his power and reſolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which ſuch extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind hoſt ſupplied him with money to purſue his journey. Some time after, he preſented himſelf before the king; he

recounted

recounted his misfortunes, magnified his ſervices, and, having looked with an eye of envy on the poſſeſſions of the man who had preſerved his life, was now ſo abandoned to every ſenſe of gratitude, as to requeſt the king to beſtow upon him the houſe and lands where he had been ſo tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily, Philip without examination, inconſiderately and precipitately granted his infamous requeſt; and this ſoldier now returned to his preſerver, repaid his goodneſs by driving him from his ſettlement, and taking immediate poſſeſſion of all the fruits of his honeſt induſtry. The poor man, ſtung with this inſtance unparallelled ingratitude and inſenſibility, boldly determined, inſtead of ſubmitting to his wrongs, to ſeek relief; and, in a letter addreſſed to Philip, repreſented his own and the ſoldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was inſtantly fired with indignation; he ordered that juſtice ſhould be done without delay; that the poſſeſſions ſhould be immediately reſtored to the man whoſe charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid; and, having ſeized the ſoldier, cauſed theſe words to be branded on his forehead. The Ungrateful Gueſt: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earlieſt times, were moſt ſcrupulouſly obſervant of the laws of hoſpitality.

Having ſtrengthened himſelf in theſe parts, he went the next year into Thrace, where he had formed a deſign againſt the Cherſoneſe. This peninſula had, with ſome little interruption, been for many years in the hands of the Athenians; but Cotys, as being king of the country, had lately wreſted it from them, and left it in ſucceſſion to his ſon Cherſobleptes. He not being able to defend himſelf againſt Philip, gave it back to the Athenians, reſerving to himſelf only Cardia, the capital city. But Philip having ſoon after ſpoiled him of the reſt of his dominions, the Cardians, for fear of falling again under the power of the Athenians, threw themſelves into his protection. Diopithes, who was the chief of the Athenian colony lately ſent to the Cherſoneſe, conſidered this proceeding of Philip, in ſupporting the Cardians, as an act of hoſtility againſt Athens; whereupon he invaded the maritime parts of Thrace, and carried away a great deal of booty. Philip being at this time in the upper part of the country, was not in a condition to do himſelf juſtice: but he wrote to complain of it at Athens, as an infraction of the peace; and his creatures there were not wanting, on their part to aggravate the charge againſt Diopithes, as having acted without orders, and having taken it upon himſelf to renew the war: they likewiſe accuſed him of committing acts of piracy, and of lay-

ing

ing their allies under contribution. But whatever grounds there were for this part of the accufation, the government of Athens was principally to blame in it; for having no proper fund for the wars, they fent out their generals without money or provifions, and left them to fhift for themfelves, and yet made them anfwerable for any mifcarriages that fhould happen, for want of their being better fupplied. This was a great difcouragement to the fervice, and put thofe who were employed in it upon pillaging and plundering, in fuch a manner as they would otherwife have been afhamed of. Demofthenes, in an harangue that he made upon the ftate of the Cherfonefe, undertook the defence of Diopithes. That harangue throws much light on the ftate of Athens, and indeed of moft of the Grecian territories at that time. It is the foundation of the other orations of Demofthenes, which go by the title of Philippics. The leading arguments in it are, That Diopithes was neceffitated to do what he did at Cherfonefe: and, if blame was due any where, it was to the Athenians, who fent out their commanders fo badly provided. That Diopithes was fo far from being culpable, that he even merited the thanks of the ftate, for having been fo fruitful in refources, and for having afferted the rights and privileges of the colony which he went to protect. That the colonifts had fuffered nothing

nothing by his proceedings, but had rather gained by them, being ſince taken under the protection of the Athenians, and having their coaſts defended againſt the ravages of pirates. He alſo inſiſted, that the drift of the accuſation that had been brought againſt Diopithes, was not in reality to procure redreſs for the miſchiefs that had been done by that general, but to divert the attention of the ſtate from the deep-laid plots, and ruinous machinations, of the accuſer himſelf, who was then fabricating chains for all Greece.

Philip, however, was no way intimidated at the wordy reſiſtance of his eloquent antagoniſt; he went on with artful induſtry, quelling thoſe by his power who were unable to reſiſt, and thoſe by his preſents whom he was unable to oppoſe. The diviſions that then ſubſiſted in Peloponneſus, gave him a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the Greek confederacy. Theſe diviſions were chiefly owing to the Spartans; who, having little to do in the late foreign tranſactions, were recovering their ſtrength at home; and, according to their uſual practice, as they increaſed in power, making uſe of it to inſult and oppreſs their neighbours. The Argives and Meſſenians being at this time perſecuted by them, put themſelves under the protection of Philip; and the Thebans joining with them, they all together formed a powerful

confederacy. The natural balance againſt it, was an union between Athens and Sparta, which the Spartans preſſed with great earneſtneſs, as the only means for their common ſecurity; and Philip and the Thebans did all in their power to prevent it. But Demoſthenes exerting himſelf upon this occaſion, rouſed up the Athenians, and put them ſo far upon their guard, that, without coming to an open rupture with Philip, they obliged him to deſiſt.

Philip, however, did not continue idle upon this diſappointment. Ever reſtleſs and enterpriſing, he turned his views another way. He had long conſidered the iſland of Eubœa as proper, from its ſituation, to favour the deſigns he meditated againſt Greece; and in the very beginning of his reign, he had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of it. He, indeed, ſet every engine to work at that time, in order to ſeize upon that iſland, which he called the ſhackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other ſide, not to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy, eſpecially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge: however, that people, according to their uſual cuſtom, continued indolent, whilſt Philip purſued his conqueſts without intermiſſion. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant, endeavoured to procure intelligence from the

iſland

iſland; and, by dint of preſents, bribed thoſe who had the greateſt authority in it. At the requeſt of certain of the inhabitants, he ſent ſome troops privately thither, poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong places, diſmantled Porthmos, a very important fortreſs in Eubœa, and eſtabliſhed three tyrants, or kings, over the country.

The Athenians were conjured, in this diſtreſſing jučtnure, by one Plutarch, who was at that time upon the iſland, to come and preſerve the inhabitants from the yoke which Philip was going to impoſe upon them. Upon this, they diſpatched a few troops thither under the command of Phocion, a general of whom great expectations were formed, and whoſe conduct well deſerved the favourable opinion the public had of him.

This man would have done honour to the earlieſt and leaſt corrupted times of the Athenian ſtate. His manners were formed in the Academy, upon the models of the moſt exact and rigid virtue. It was ſaid, that no Athenian ever ſaw him laugh or weep, or deviate in any inſtance from the moſt ſettled gravity and compoſure. He learned the art of war under Chabrias, and frequently moderated the exceſſes, and corrected the errors of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated, and taught him to exert it in a more extenſive and liberal manner. When he had re-

ceived his directions to fail, with twenty fhips, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities, "Why that force? faid Phocion; if I am to meet them as enemies, it is infufficient; if as friends and allies, a fingle veffel will ferve." He bore the feverities of a military life with fo much eafe, that if Phocion ever appeared warmly clothed, the foldiers at once pronounced it the fign of a remarkably bad feafon. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his converfation eafy and obliging; and all his words and actions expreffed the utmoft affection and benevolence. In popular affemblies, his lively, clofe, and natural manner of fpeaking, feemed, as it were, the echo of the fimplicity and integrity of his mind, and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demofthenes, who called him the pruner of his periods. He ftudied only good-fenfe and plain reafoning, and defpifed every adventitious ornament. In an affembly, when he was to addrefs the people, he was furprifed by a friend, wrapped up in thought; "I am confideing, faid he, whether I cannot retrench fome part of my intended addrefs." He was fenfible of the ill conduct of his countrymen, and ever treated them with the greateft feverity. He defied their cenfures; and fo far did he affect to defpife their applaufe, that, at a time when his fentiments extorted

torted their approbation, he turned about in ſurpriſe, and aſked a friend, If any thing weak or impertinent had eſcaped him? His ſenſe of the degeneracy of Athens, made him fond of pacific meaſures. He ſaw the deſigns of Philip, but imagined that the ſtate was too corrupted to give him any effectual oppoſition; ſo that he was of the number of thoſe men who, according to Demoſthenes in his third Philippic oration, gave up the intereſts of the ſtate, not corruptly or ignorantly, but from a deſperate purpoſe of yielding to the fate of a conſtitution, thought to be irrecoverably loſt. He was, of conſequence, ever of the party oppoſite to Demoſthenes; and having been taught, by experience, to ſuſpect the popular leaders, conſidered his earneſtneſs to rouſe the Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the ſtate, and by that means to gain an influence in the aſſembly. "Phocion, ſaid Demoſthenes, the people, in ſome mad fit, will certainly ſacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes, replied he, and you will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reaſon." Yet they often prevailed on him to act againſt his judgment, though never to ſpeak againſt his conſcience. He never refuſed or declined the command, whatever might be his opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he choſen to lead their armies, generally in his abſence, and ever without the leaſt

application. They knew his merit; and, in the hour of danger, forgot that ſeverity with which he uſually treated their inclinations and opinions.

It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they ſent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude; he ſet up the ſtandard againſt them, and endeavoured openly to repulſe the very army he had requeſted. However, Phocion was not at a loſs how to act in conſequence of that unforeſeen perfidy; for he purſued his enterpriſe, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

Theſe diſappointments, however, no way intimidated Philip, or rendered him the leaſt remiſs in proſecuting his original deſign. He now, therefore, changed the method of his attack and fought for an opportunity of diſtreſſing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenneſs of Attica, ſtood in greater want of foreign corn, than any other. To diſpoſe, at diſcretion, of their tranſports, and by that means ſtarve the Athenians, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greateſt part of its proviſions, with an intention to beſiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his abſence, he left his ſon Alexander behind, with ſovereign authority, though he was only fifteen years old. This young prince gave,

even at that time, ſome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring ſtates, ſubject to Macedonia, who had conſidered the king's abſence as a very proper time for executing the deſign they had formed of revolting. This happy ſucceſs of Alexander's firſt expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the ſame time an earneſt of what might be expected from him. But fearing leſt, allured by this dangerous bait, he ſhould abandon himſelf inconſiderately to his vivacity and fire, he ſent for him in order to become his maſter; and form him, in perſon, for the profeſſion of war.

In the mean time, Philip opened the campaign with the ſiege of Perinthus, a conſiderable city of Thrace, and firmly attached to the Athenians. It was aſſiſted from Byzantium, a neighbouring city, which threw in ſuccours as occaſion required. Philip, therefore, reſolved to beſiege both at the ſame time. Still, however, he was deſirous to appear cautious and tender of diſpleaſing the Athenians, whom he endeavoured to amuſe with the moſt profound reſpect, mixed with well-timed abuſes, and the moſt flattering ſubmiſſion. Upon this occaſion, he wrote them a letter, reproaching them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, for their infraction of treaties, and his own religious obſervance of them. "In the times of great enmity," ſays he,

"the moſt you did was to fit out ſhips of war "againſt me, and to ſeize and ſell the merchants "that came to trade in my dominions; but now "you carry your hatred and injuſtice to ſuch "prodigious lengths, as even to ſend ambaſſadors "to the king of Perſia, to make him declare "againſt me."

The letter gave the orators who undertook Philip's defence, a fine opportunity of juſtifying him to the people. Demoſthenes alone ſtood firm, and ſtill continued to expoſe his artful deſigns, and to break down all thoſe laboured ſchemes which were undertaken to deceive the people. Senſible, on this occaſion, how neceſſary it was to remove the firſt impreſſions which the peruſal of this letter might make, he immediately aſcended the tribunal, and from thence harangued the people, with all the thunder of his eloquence. He told them the letter was written in a ſtyle not ſuitable to the people of Athens; that it was a plain declaration of war againſt them; that Philip had long ſince made the ſame declaration by his actions; and that by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing further than a bare ceſſation of arms, in order to gain time, and to take them more unprepared. From thence he proceeded to his uſual topic of reproving them for their ſloth, for ſuffering themſelves to be deluded by their

órators who were in Philip's pay. "Convinced "by these truths," continued he, "O Athenians, "and strongly persuaded that we can no longer "be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for "Philip has now declared war against us by his "letter, and has long done the same by his "conduct) you ought not to spare either the "public treasure, or the possessions of private "persons, but when occasion shall require, haste "to your respective standards, and set abler ge-"nerals at your head, than those you have hither-"to employed; for no one among you ought to "imagine, that the same men who have ruined "your affairs, will have abilities to restore them "to their former happy situation. Think how "infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should "contemn dangers to such a degree, that merely "to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into "the midst of combats, and return from battle "covered with wounds, and that the Athenians, "whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, "but to impose law on others, sword in hand; "that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection "of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from "the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the "interest of their country!" To this expostulation, Phocion readily offered his voice and opinion. He urged the incapacity of the generals

already chofen; and, in confequence of his advice he himfelf was appointed general of the army that was to go againft Philip, who was ftill befieging Byzantium.

Phocion having led his troops to the fuccour of the Byzantians, the inhabitants, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his foldiers in their houfes, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and foldiers, ftruck with the confidence repofed in them, behaved with the utmoft prudence and modefty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct; nor were they lefs admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they fuftained, difcovered the utmoft intrepidity, which danger feemed only to improve. Phocion's prudence, feconded by the bravery of his troops, foon forced Philip to abandon his defign upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellefpont, which diminifhed very much his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppofe him. Phocion took fome of his fhips, recovered many fortreffes which he had garrifoned, and having made feveral defcents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces affembling to check his progrefs, he was obliged to retire.

Philip after having been forced to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, marched againſt Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received ſome perſonal cauſe of diſcontent, and took his ſon with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which conſiſted not in gold or ſilver, the uſe and value of which the Scythians were not as yet ſo unhappy as to know, but in cattle, in horſes, and in a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœſia, diſputed the paſs with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each ſide were killed on the ſpot; the king himſelf was wounded in the thigh, and, with the ſame thruſt, had his horſe killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and covering him with his ſhield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

The Athenians had conſidered the ſiege of Byzantium as an abſolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehenſive of the conſequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf, made overtures of peace, in order to ſoften their re-

ſentment

fentment. Phocion, little fufpicious, and apprehenfive of the uncertainty of military fupplies, was of opinion, that the Athenians fhould accept his offers; but Demofthenes, who had ftudied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and who was perfuaded that, according to his ufual cuftom, his only view was to impofe upon the Athenians, prevented their liftening to his pacific propofals. When Philip found the Athenians would not treat with him, and that they were acting offenfively againft him, efpecially at fea, where they blocked up his ports, and put an entire ftop to his commerce, he began to form new alliances againft them, particularly with the Thebans and Theffalians, without whom he knew he could not keep open his paffage into Greece. At the fame time he was fenfible that his engaging thefe powers to act directly againft Athens, and in his own perfonal quarrel, would have fo bad an afpect, that they would not eafily come into it. For which reafon he endeavoured, underhand, to create new difturbances in Greece, that he might take fuch a part in them as would beft anfwer his views; and when the flame was kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an affiftant, than to act as a principal.

By the refult of his machinations he foon found an opportunity of raifing divifions between the Locrians of Amphiffa and their capital city. They were

were accufed of having profaned a fpot of facred ground, (which lay very near the temple of Delphos) by ploughing it, as the Phocians had done upon a former occafion. In order to produce and widen this breach. Philip employed Æfchines, the orator, who by bribes was entirely devoted to him, to harangue at the affembly of the Amphictyons againft this outrage upon the religion of their country. Æfchines was a man of great abilities, and only fecond in eloquence to Demofthenes. He had now a fair opportunity of raifing commotions, by appearing interefted for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a paffionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well of real patriotifm, and which is moft likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular affemblies, by being confidered as the indication of fincerity, and the overflowings of a heart honeftly affected, he boldly delivered his opinions. His fentiments were echoed through the affembly by the friends of Philip; the tumult was kept up to drown all remonftrances of caution and policy, and a refolution was paffed, that a deputation fhould be fent to Philip, king of Macedon, inviting him to affift Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages of the impious Amphiffœans; and farther, to declare that he was conftituted, by all the Greeks, member of the

the council of Amphictyons, and general and commander of their forces, with full and unlimited powers.

This welcome invitation and commiffion, the fruit of all his fecret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to Macedon. He bowed with an affectionate reverence to the venerable council, and declared his readinefs to execute their orders.

The inferior ftates of Greece, and all thofe whofe fimplicity and weaknefs rendered them infenfible to the defigns now forming by Philip, entirely approved of the act of the Amphictyons, and of the nomination of a prince to the command of their forces, fo eminent and illuftrious for his piety, and fo capable of executing the vengeance of Heaven. At Sparta and at Athens this event was confidered in a different manner. The firft of thefe people, though poffeffed but of a fmall part of their ancient greatnefs, yet ftill retained their pride, and feemed to have looked with a fullen indignation at the honours paid to Macedon. The Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip, and now their great popular leader repeatedly urged the neceffity of fufpicion, and reprefented all the late tranfactions in the Amphictyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and a defign againft Greece in

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general, but more particularly againſt the welfare and liberty of Athens.

To counteract the zeal of Demoſthenes, and to prevent the effects of his inceſſant remonſtrances, the minds of the people were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all ſolemnity from the ſacred tripod, and reported to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was pronounced againſt all thoſe who ſhould preſume to oppoſe the king of Macedon, the deſtined inſtrument of Divine Juſtice; and the people were exhorted not to ſuffer artful and deſigning orators, and popular leaders, to ſeduce them to their ruin.

In the mean time Philip immediately got his troops together, and, with all the ſhow of religious veneration, began to march, in order to chaſtiſe the irreverent Locrians: but he had far different aims; and inſtead of proceeding upon ſo ridiculous a commiſſion, made a ſudden turn, and ſeized upon Elatea, a capital city of Phocis, which was very well ſituated for awing the Thebans, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for preparing his way to Athens. But by ſo extraordinary a ſtep, as this he fairly threw off the maſk, and bade defiance to the whole body of Grecians. Thus was this enterprizing prince, all of a ſudden, maſter of a port of the utmoſt conſequence; at the head of an army

capable

capable of ſtriking terror into his oppoſers; at the diſtance of but two days march from Attica; abſolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortreſs both of Thebes and Athens; conveniently ſituated for receiving ſuccours from Theſſaly and Macedon, and entirely at liberty either to give battle to thoſe who might preſume to appear in arms againſt him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

The news of Philip's recent tranſaction was quickly ſpread through the adjacent countries, and received with all the ſtupid and helpleſs aſtoniſhment of men rouſed from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful ſenſe of their danger, and of the real deſigns of their enemy. It was late in the evening when a courier arriving at Athens, appeared before the Prytanes, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedon had taken poſſeſſion of Elatea. Theſe magiſtrates, and all the other citizens, were now at ſupper, indulging themſelves in the pleaſures and gaieties of the table, when the news, which in an inſtant rung through all the city, rouſed them from their ſtate of eaſe, and put an end to all their feſtivity. The ſtreets and public places were inſtantly filled with a diſtracted concourſe; every man with terror and confuſion in his countenance, and every man ſolicitous for an immediate conſultation on an emer-

emergency ſo important and alarming. At the dawn of the ſucceeding day the aſſembly met together, impreſſed with that conſternation which urgent danger naturally inſpires. The whole body of the people flocked to the ſenate-houſe, ſeized their places, and waited with the utmoſt anxiety for ſo important a deliberation. The herald, as was the cuſtom at Athens, aroſe, and cried out with aloud voice, "Who among you will aſcend the tribunal?" All, however, was ſilence, terror and diſmay. He again repeated the invitation; but ſtill no one roſe up, though all the generals and orators were preſent. At length Demoſthenes, animated with the greatneſs of the approaching danger, aroſe, undaunted and unmoved in this ſcene of horror. With a countenance of ſerenity, the firm compoſure of a patriot, and the ſage diſcernment of a complete ſtateſman, he addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in the following manner: —"Athenians, permit me to explain the circum-"ſtances of that ſtate which Philip was now ſeized "upon. Thoſe of its citizens whom his gold "could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all at "his devotion. What then is his deſign? By "drawing up his forces, and diſplaying his powers "on the borders of Thebes, he hopes to inſpire "his adherents with confidence and elevation, "and to terrify and controul his adverſaries, that "fear

"fear or force may drive them into those measures which they have hitherto opposed. If then we are resolved, in this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of every act of unkindness, which the Thebans have done to Athens; if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have ranged themselves on the side of our enemy; in the first place, we shall act agreeably to Philip's warmest wishes; and then I am apprehensive, that the party, who now oppose him, may be brought over to his interest; the whole city submit unanimously to his direction; and Thebes and Macedon fall, with their united force, on Attica. Grant the due attention to what I shall now propose; let it be calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and I doubt not but that my counsels may direct you to the best and most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers now impending over the state. What then do I recommend?—First, shake off that terror which hath possessed your minds; and, instead of fearing for yourselves, let the Thebans be the objects of your apprehensions; they are more immediately affected; they are the first to feel the dangers. In the next place, all those of the age for military service, both infantry and cavalry, should march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece may see that you are also assembled

"in

"in arms; and your friends in Thebes to be em-
"boldened to affert their rights, when they are
"affured, that as they who have fold their country
"to the Macedonians, have a force at Elatea to
"fupport them, fo you are ready to affift the men
"who bravely contend for liberty. In the laft
"place I recommend to you to nominate ten am-
"baffadors, who, with the generals, may have full
"authority to determine the time, and all other
"circumftances of this march. When thefe am-
"baffadors arrive at Thebes, how are they to con-
"duct this great affair? This is a point worthy of
"your moft ferious attention. Make no demands
"of the Thebans; at this conjuncture it would be
"difhonourable: affure them that your affiftance
"is ready for their acceptance, as you are juftly
"affected by their danger, and have been fo happy
"as to forefee and to guard againft it. If they
"approve of your fentiments, and embrace your
"overtures, we fhall effect our great purpofe, and
"act with a dignity worthy of our ftate. But,
"fhould it happen that we are not fo fuccefsful
"whatever misfortunes they may fuffer, to them-
"felves fhall they be imputed; while your conduct
"fhall appear, in no one inftance, inconfiftent
"with the honour and renown of Athens."

This oration, delivered with eafe and refolution, did not want its due effect; it was received with

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univerfal applaufe, and Demofthenes himfelf was inftantly chofen to head the embaffy which he had now propofed. A decree, in purfuance of his advice was drawn up in form; with an additional claufe, that a fleet of two hundred fail fhould be fitted out to cruife near Thermopylæ.

In confequence of this, Demofthenes fet out for Thebes, making the more hafte, as he was fenfible that Philip might over-run Attica in two days. Philip, on the other hand, in order to oppofe the eloquence of Demofthenes, fent ambaffadors to Thebes, among whom was Python, who particularly diftinguifhed himfelf by the livelinefs of his orations. But his perfuafive powers were far inferior to thofe of Demofthenes, who overcame all oppofition. The mafculine eloquence of Demofthenes was irrefiftible; and kindled in the fouls of the Thebans fo warm a zeal for their country, and fo ftrong a paffion for freedom, that they were no longer mafters of themfelves; laying afide all fear and gratitude, and all prudential cofiderations.

That which animated Demofthenes, next to his public fafety, was his having to do with a man of Python's abilities; and he fome time after took occafion to value himfelf upon the victory he had obtained over him:—"I did not give way," faid he, "to the boafting Python, when he would have

"bore

"bore me down with a torrent of words." He gloried more in the fuccefs of this negociation than of any other he had been employed in, and fpoke of it as his mafter-piece in politics.

Philip, quite difconcerted by the union of thefe two nations, fent ambaffadors to the Athenians, to requeft them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too juftly alarmed and exafperated to liften to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whofe whole aim was to deceive. In confequence, preparations for war were made with the utmoft diligence, and the foldiery difcovered incredible ardour. However, many evil difpofed perfons endeavoured to extinguifh or damp it, by relating fatal omens, and terrible predictions, which the prieftefs of Delphos was faid to have uttered. But Demofthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who defired only to march againft the enemy, would not fuffer them to be amufed with thefe oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occafion, he faid, that the prieftefs Philipifed; meaning, that it was Philip's money that infpired the prieftefs, opened her mouth, and made the goddefs fpeak whatever fhe thought proper. He bade the Thebans

remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles; who confidered thefe oracles and predictions as idle fcare-crows, and confulted only their reafon. The Athenian army fet out immediately, and marched to Eleufis; and the Thebans furprifed at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on his part, well knowing that the bravery and fpirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might enable them to improve their advantages, and confcious alfo of his own abilities, and the weaknefs of thofe generals who commanded the Greeks, determined to bring on a general engagement, where his fuperior fkill muft appear of the greateft moment. For this purpofe he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chæronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important conteft. Here he chofe his ftation, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, as if refolved to fight in his prefence, to make him witnefs of the actions of his defcendant, and to commit his forces, and his caufe, to the immediate protection of this hero. Some ancient oracles were preferved, which feemed to point out the fpot, on which he now encamped, as the fcene of fome dreadful calamity to Greece.

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His army was formed of thirty-two thoufand men, warlike, difciplined, and long enured to the toils and dangers of the field; but this body was compofed of different nations and countries, who had each their diftinct and feparate views and interefts. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty-thoufand complete, of which the Athenians and Thebans furnifhed the greateft part; the reft was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnefians. The fame motives and the fame zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event; and all equally refolved to conquer, or die in defence of liberty.

On the eve of this decifive day, Diogenes, the famous Cynic, who had long looked with equal contempt on either party, was led by curiofity to vifit the camps, as an unconcerned fpectator. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and perfon were not known, he was ftopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expreffed furprize at a ftranger's prefuming to approach his camp; and afked, with feverity, Whether he came as a fpy? "Yes," faid Diogenes, "I am come to fpy upon your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly fet your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

And now the fatal morning appeared, which was for ever to decide the caufe of liberty and the

 empire

empire of Greece. Before the rifing of the fun both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theogenes, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and fufpected of corruption, obtained the poft of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the Sacred Band, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthufiafm of love and friendfhip. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnefians; and the Athenians compofed the left wing, led by their generals, Lyficles and Chares. On the left of the Macedonian army ftood Alexander, at the head of a chofen body of noble Macedonians, fupported by the famous cavalry of Theffaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to curb his youthful impetuofity, and to direct his valour; and for this purpofe furrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the centre were placed thofe Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whofe courage he had the leaft dependence; whilft the king himfelf commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx ftood, to oppofe the impetuofity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onfet.

The charge began on each fide with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty could excite in the feveral combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, firft fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the Sacred Band of Thebes, which fuftained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths who compofed this body, not being timely, or not duly fupported by their countrymen, bore up for a while againft the torrent of the enemy; till at length, oppreffed and overpowered by fuperior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their affailants, they funk down upon that ground where they had been originally ftationed, each by the fide of his darling friend, raifing up a bulwark by their bodies againft the progrefs of the army. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthufiaftic ardour of valour, animated by fuccefs, pufhed on through all the carnage, and over all the heaps of flain, and fell furioufly on the main body of the Thebans; where they were oppofed with obftinate and deliberate courage, and the conteft was, for fome time, fupported with mutual violence.

The Athenians, at the fame time on the right wing, fought with a fpirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boafted, and of the

caufe by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each fide, and fuccefs was for fome time doubtful; till at length part of the centre, and the left wing of the Macedonians (except the phalanx) yielding to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with fome precipitation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Grecian generals had been equal to the valour of their foldiers! But thofe brave champions of liberty were led on by the defpicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Tranfported by the advantage now obtained, the prefumptuous Lyficles cried out. "Come on, my gallant countrymen; the victory is ours; let us purfue thefe cowards, and drive them to Macedon:" and thus, inftead of improving the happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and fo breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately preffed forward, in purfuit of the flying enemy; themfelves in all the tumult and diforder of a route. Philip faw this fatal error with all the contempt of a fkilful general, and the fecret exultation arifing from the affurance of approaching victory. He coolly obferved to thofe officers that ftood round him, That the Athenians knew not how to conquer; and ordered his phalanx to change its pofition, and, by a fudden evolution, to gain poffeffion of an adjacent eminence

eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down, firm and collected, and fell, with their united force on the Athenians, now confident of fuccefs, and blind to their danger. The fhock was irrefiftible; they were at once overwhelmed; many of them lay crufhed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds; while the reft efcaped from the dreadful flaughter by a fhameful and precipitate flight; bearing down and hurrying away with them, thofe troops which had been ftationed for their fupport. And here the renowned orator and ftatefman, whofe noble fentiments and fpirited harangues had raifed the courage on this day fo eminently exerted, betrayed that weaknefs which has fullied his great character. He alone, of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and difmayed; and, at the very firft appearance of a reverfe of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, caft away that fhield which he had adorned with this infcription in golden characters, To Good Fortune, and appeared the foremoft in the general route. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another fhameful circumftance; that being impeded in his flight by fome brambles, his imagination was fo poffeffed by the prefence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for quarter.

While Philip was thus triumphant on his ſide, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in ſpite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were purſued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of ſlaughter had already been made; more than one thouſand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thouſand were made priſoners, and the loſs of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip, therefore, determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks ſhould be ſpared, conſcious of his own deſigns, and ſtill expecting to appear in the field the head and leader of that body which he had now completely ſubdued.

Philip was tranſported with this victory beyond meaſure; and having drank to exceſs at an entertainment which he gave upon that occaſion, went into the field of battle, where he exulted over the ſlain, and upbraided the priſoners with their miſfortunes. He leaped and danced about in a frantic manner, and with an air of burleſque merriment ſung the beginning of the decree, which Demoſthenes had drawn up as a declaration of war againſt him. Demades who was of the number

of

of the prifoners, had the courage to reproach him with this ungenerous behaviour, telling him, That fortune had given him the part of Agamemnon, but that he was acting that of Therfites. He was fo ftruck with the juftnefs of this reproof, that it wrought a thorough change in him; and he was fo far from being offended at Demades, that he immediately gave him his liberty, and fhewed him afterwards great marks of honour and friendfhip. He likewife releafed all the Athenian captives, and without ranfom; and when they found him fo generoufly difpofed towards them, they made a demand of their baggage, with every thing elfe that had been taken from them; but to that Philip replied, "Surely they think I have not beat them." This difcharge of the prifoners was afcribed, in a great meafure, to Demades, who is faid to have new-modelled Philip, and to have foftened his temper with the Attic graces, as Diodorus expreffes it. Indeed, Philip himfelf acknowledged, upon another occafion, that his frequent converfe with the Athenian orators, had been of great ufe to him in correcting his morals. Juftin reprefents his carriage after the battle in a very different light: alledging, that he took abundance of pains to diffemble his joy; that he affected great modefty and compaffion, and was not feen to laugh; that he would have no facrifice, no crowns, no perfumes; that he forbade

forbade all kinds of ſports, and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be inſolent. But this account ſeems to have been confounded with others which were given of him, after his being reformed by Demades. It is certain, that after his firſt tranſport was over, and that he began to recollect himſelf, he ſhewed great humanity to the Athenians; and that, in order ſtill to keep meaſures with them, he renewed the peace. But the Thebans who had renounced their alliance with him, he treated in another manner. He who affected to be as much maſter of his allies as of his ſubjects, could not eaſily pardon thoſe who had deſerted him in ſo critical a conjuncture; wherefore he not only took ranſom for their priſoners, but made them pay for leave to bury their dead. After theſe ſeverities, and after having placed a ſtrong garriſon over them, he granted them a peace.

We are told that Iſocrates, the moſt celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmoſt tenderneſs, could not ſurvive the loſs and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loſs of the battle of Chæronea. The inſtant he received the news of its being uncertain what uſe Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he haſtened his end by abſtaining from food. He was fourſcore and eighteen years

years of age. This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the generals Lyficles and Chares; the former whereof the Athenians put to death, at the inftance of Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a fevere judge, and a moft bitter accufer. "You, Lyficles," faid he, "were general of the army: a thoufand citizens were flain, two thoufand taken prifoners; a trophy has been erected to the dif-honour of this city, and all Greece is enflaved. You had the command when all thefe things hap-pened; and yet you dare to live and view the light of the fun, and blufh not to appear publicly in the Forum: you, Lyficles, who are born the monument of your country's fhame!" This Lycurgus was one of the orators of the firft rank, and free from the general corruption which then reigned among them. He managed the public treafure for twelve years with great uprightnefs, and had, throughout his life, the reputation of a man of honour and virtue. He encreafed the fhipping, fupplied the arfenal, drove the bad men out of the city, and framed feveral good laws. He kept an exact re-gifter of every thing he did during his adminiftra-tion; and, when that was expired, he caufed it to be fixed up to a pillar, that every body might be at liberty to infpect it, and to cenfure his conduct. He carried this point fo far, that in his laft fick-nefs,

nefs, he ordered himfelf to be carried to the Senate-houfe to give a public account of all his actions; and, after he had refuted one who accufed him there, he went home, and died. Notwithftanding the aufterity of his temper, he was a great encourager of the ftage; which, though it had been carried to an excefs that was manifeftly hurtful to the public, he ftill looked upon as the beft fchool to inftruct and polifh the minds of the people. And to this end he kept up a fpirit of emulation among the writers of tragedy, and erected the ftatues of Æfchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. He left three fons who were unworthy of him, and behaved fo ill that they were all put in prifon; but Demofthenes, out of regard to the memory of their father, got them difcharged.

It does not appear that Chares underwent any perfecution for his fhare of this action; though, according to his general character, he deferved it as much or more than his colleague; for he had no talent for command, and was very little different from a common foldier. Timotheus faid of him, "That, inftead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the general's baggage." His perfon, indeed, was of that robuft kind of make; and it was that which ferved, in fome meafure, to recommend him to the people. But he was more a man of pleafure than fatigue. In his military expe-

ditions,

ditions, he was wont to carry with him a band of mufic, and he defrayed the expence of it out of the foldiers' pay. Notwithftanding his want of abilities, he had a thorough good opinion of himfelf. He was vain and pofitive, bold and boifterous; a great undertaker, and always ready to warrant fuccefs; but his performances feldom anfwered; and hence it was that the promifes of Chares became a proverb: and yet, as little as he was to be depended on, he had his partizans among the people, and among the orators, by whofe means he got himfelf to be frequently employed, and others to be excluded who were more capable.

But it was Demofthenes who feemed to have been the principle caufe of the terrible fhock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power fuch a wound, as it never recovered. However, at the very inftant the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected fo great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder had the multitude, feized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal againft the man whom they might have confidered, in fome meafure, as the author of this dreadful calamity: even at this very inftant, I fay, the people fubmitted entirely to the councils of Demofthenes. The precautions that were taken to poft guards, to raife the walls, and to repair the ditches,

were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the expence for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

But the people did not stop here: the bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure.

It

It was in this year that Æſchines drew up an accuſation againſt Cteſiphon, or rather againſt Demoſthenes, which was the moſt remarkable that ever appeared before any tribunal; not ſo much for the object of the conteſt, as for the greatneſs and ability of the ſpeakers. Cteſiphon, a partizan and friend of Demoſthenes, brought a cauſe before the aſſembly of the people, in which he urged that a decree ſhould be paſſed, giving a golden crown to Demoſthenes. This decree was ſtrongly oppoſed by Æſchines, the rival of Demoſthenes, as well in eloquence, as in ambition.

No cauſe ever excited ſo much curioſity, nor was pleaded with ſo much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts, and they had great reaſon for ſo doing; for what ſight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way, both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diſſentions, and an implacable animoſity againſt each other.

The juncture ſeemed to favour Æſchines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, eſpecially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheleſs Æſchines loſt his cauſe, and was juſtly ſentenced to baniſhment for his raſh accuſation. He thereupon went and ſettled himſelf in Rhodes, where he opened a ſchool of eloquence, the fame and

glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æſchines; but when they heard that of Demoſthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was then he ſpoke theſe words, ſo greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival: "Alas; what applauſes would you not have beſtowed, had you heard Demoſthenes ſpeak it himſelf?"

Demoſthenes, thus become victor, made a good uſe of his conqueſt. For the inſtant Æſchines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demoſthenes ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purſe of money. On this occaſion, Æſchines cried out, "How will it be poſſible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world?"

In the mean time, Philip had his ambition pleaſed, but not ſatisfied with his laſt victory; he had one object long in view, and that he never loſt ſight of: this was to get himſelf appointed, in the aſſembly of the Greeks, their chief general againſt the Perſians. It had long been the object not only of the confederate ſtates, but alſo of the neighbouring Greek nations, to revenge upon the kingdom of Perſia, the injuries they had ſuſtained

from

from it, and to work the total deſtruction of that empire. This was an object which had early inflamed the mind of Philip, and his late victory paved the way to it. He therefore got himſelf declared generaliſſimo of the Greek forces, and accordingly made preparations to invade that mighty empire.

But whilſt Philip was thus ſucceſsful in politics and war, the domeſtic diviſions that reigned in his family embittered his happineſs, and at laſt cauſed his deſtruction. He had married Olympias, the daughter of the king of Epirus, and the early part of their union was crowned with happineſs; but her ill temper ſoon clouded that dawn which promiſed ſo much felicity; ſhe was naturally jealous, vindictive, and paſſionate; and their diſſentions were carried to ſuch a degree, that Philip was often heard to wiſh for death. But his paſſion for Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his general, completed their ſeparation. As Cleopatra was no leſs amiable in her temper and accompliſhments, than in the extraordinary graces of her perſon, Philip conceived that he ſhould conſult his own happineſs moſt effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the leaſt heſitation, reſolved to ſeparate himſelf for ever from the princeſs who had long appeared ſo great an enemy to his tranquillity. In vain did

 Alexander

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Alexander his ſon remonſtrate, that by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a ſecond marriage he expoſed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his ſucceſſion precarious. "My ſon, ſaid the king, if I create you a number of competitors, you will have the glorious opportunity of exerting yourſelf to ſurpaſs them in merit. Thus ſhall their rivalſhip by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and ſolemnity which the great occaſion demanded. The young prince, however diſſatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on theſe ſolemnities, and ſat in ſilent indignation at that feaſt which proclaimed the diſgrace of his mother. In ſuch circumſtances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be ſuſceptible of the ſlighteſt irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that juſt caution, which ſhould have taught him to be ſcrupulouſly obſervant to avoid offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinſwoman, as well as by the preſent feſtivity, was raſh enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles, to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the preſent nuptials, and legitimate heirs to his throne. Wretch! cried Alexander, with his eyes ſparkling with that fury

fury and vexation which he had till now ſuppreſſed, doſt thou then call me baſtard? and inſtantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confuſion aroſe, and the king, in a ſudden fit of rage, ſnatched his ſword and flew directly towards his ſon. His precipitation, his lameneſs, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, happily diſappointed his raſh purpoſe; he ſtumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander, with an unpardonable inſolence, cried out, "Be-"hold, ye Macedonians! this is the king who "is preparing to lead you into Aſia; ſee where "in paſſing from one table to another, he is fallen "to the ground."

Philip, however, did not loſe ſight of the conqueſts of Aſia. Full of the mighty project he had conceived, he conſulted the gods to know what would be the event of it; and the prieſteſs replied, The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will ſoon be ſacrificed. Philip hearing this, did not heſitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour; the ambiguity of which ought at leaſt to have kept him in ſome ſuſpence. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expediton againſt the Perſians, and limit himſelf ſolely to the conqueſt of Aſia, he diſpatched with all poſſible

diligence his domeſtic affairs. After this, he offered up a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods; and prepared to celebrate with incredible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the moſt conſiderable perſons of Greece, and heaped upon them friendſhip and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generaliſſimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulating each other, by ſending him golden crowns; and Athens diiſtnguiſhed its zeal above all the reſt. Neoptolemus, the poet, had written purpoſely for that feſtival, a tragedy intitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he repreſented this prince as already victor over Darius, and maſter of Aſia. Philip liſtened to theſe happy preſages with joy, and, comparing them with the anſwer of the oracle, aſſured himſelf of conqueſt. The day after the nuptials, games and ſhows were ſolemnized. As theſe formed part of the religious worſhip, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve ſtatues of the gods, carved with inimitable art; a thirteenth that ſurpaſſed them all in magnificence, repreſented Philip as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, he went forth in a white robe! and advanced with an air of

majeſty, in the midſt of unbounded acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience.

But this magnificence only ſerved to make the cataſtrophe more remarkable, and to add ſplendor to ruin. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had inſulted in the moſt ſhocking manner Pauſanias a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's juſtice. But Philip, unwilling to diſguſt Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before obſerved, he had married after his divorcing Olmpias his firſt queen, would never liſten to Pauſanias's complaints. However, to conſole him in ſome meaſure, and to expreſs the high eſteem he had for, and the great confidence he repoſed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whoſe anger now ſwelling to fury againſt his judge, he formed the deſign of wiping out his ſhame, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his ſovereign.

And now while this unhappy youth continued brooding over thoſe malignant paſſions which diſtracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the ſchool of one Hermocrates, who pro-

feſſed to teach philoſophy; to whom he propoſed the following queſtion: What ſhall that man do, who wiſhes to tranſmit his name with luſtre to poſterity? Hermocrates, either artfully and from deſign, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He muſt kill him who hath atchieved "the greateſt actions; thus ſhall the memory of "the hero be joined with his who ſlew him, and "both deſcend together to poſterity." This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pauſanias, in the preſent diſpoſition of his mind; and thus various accidents and circumſtances concurred to inflame thoſe dangerous paſſions which now poſſeſſed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpoſe of ſatiating his revenge.

The preſent ſolemnity was the occaſion which Pauſanias choſe for putting his dreadful deſign in execution. Philip, clothed in a white flowing robe, waving in ſoft and graceful folds, the habiliments in which the Grecian deities were uſually repreſented, moved forward with an heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds ſhouted forth their flattering applauſe. His guards had orders to keep at a conſiderable diſtance from his perſon, to ſhew that the king confided in the affections of his people, and had not the leaſt apprehenſions of danger amidſt all this mixed concourſe of different ſtates and nations.

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Unhappily the danger was but too near him. The injured Paufanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but ftill retained thofe terrible impreffions which the fenfe of the indignity he had received, and the artful and interefted reprefentations of others, fixed deeply in his mind. He chofe this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge on the prince, who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His defign had been for fome time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on in all his pride and pomp, this young Macedonian flipped though the crowd, and, with a defperate and revengeful refolution, waited his approach in a narrow paffage, juft at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him, Paufanias drew his poniard, plunged it into his heart, and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Afia, fell proftrate to the ground and inftantly expired.

The murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there ftood horfes ready to favour his efcape, which Olympias herfelf is faid to have prepared. The tumult and confufion was fuch as might be expected from fo fatal an event; fome of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with officious and ineffectual care, while others purfued Paufanias. Among thefe were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the firft who excelled

excelled in ſwiftneſs came up to the aſſaſſin, where he was juſt preparing to mount his horſe, but being by his precipitation intangled in ſome vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him ſuddenly to the ground. As he prepared to riſe, Perdiccas was upon him, and, with his companions, ſoon diſpatched him by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet, but in the morning appeared crowned with a golden diadem; the only means by which Olympias could now expreſs her implacable reſentment. In a few days, indeed, ſhe took a further occaſion of publiſhing her triumph and exultation in her huſband's fall, by paying the ſame funeral honours to Pauſanias, which were prepared for Philip; both bodies were burnt on the ſame pile, and the aſhes of both depoſited in the ſame tomb. She is even ſaid to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pauſanias, as if ſhe feared that the ſhare ſhe had taken in the death of Philip ſhould not be ſufficiently known to the world. She conſecrated to Apollo the dagger with had been the inſtrument of the fatal deed, inſcribed with the name Myrtalis, the name which ſhe had borne when their loves firſt began.

Thus died Philip, whoſe virtues and vices were directed and proportioned to his ambition. His

most shining and exalted qualities were influenced in a great measure by his love of power; and even the most exceptionable parts of his conduct were principally determined by their conveniency and expediency. If he was unjust, he was, like Cæsar, unjust for the sake of empire. If he gloried in the success acquired by his virtues and his intellectual accomplishments, rather than in that which the force of arms could gain, the reason which he himself assigned points out his true principle. "In "the former case," said he, "the glory is entirely "mine; in the other, my generals and soldiers "have their share."

The news of Philip's death was a joyful surprize in Greece, and particularly in Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if Philip had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy did ill become them. It was looked upon as an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered prince, and of one whom they just before had revered, and crouched to in the most abject manner. These immoderate transports were raised in them by Demosthenes, who having the first intelligence of Philip's death, went into the assembly unusually gay and chearful, with a chaplet on his head, and

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in a rich habit, though it was then but the feventh day after the death of his daughter. From this circumftance Plutarch, at the fame time that he condemns the behaviour of the Athenians in general upon this occafion, takes an opportunity to juftify Demofthenes, and extols him as a patriot for not fuffering his domeftic afflictions to interfere with the good fortune of the commonwealth. But he certainly might have acted the part of a good citizen with more decency, and not have given up to infult what was due to good manners.

CHAP. XIV.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER, TO HIS SETTING OUT FOR ASIA.

A. M. 3648.
Ante J. C. 356.

ALEXANDER, the fon of Philip, afcended the throne upon the death of his father, and took poffeffion of a kingdom rendered flourifhing and powerful by the policy of the preceding reign.

He came into the world the very day the celebrated Temple of Diana, at Ephefus, was burnt; upon which occafion the report goes, that Hegefias, the hiftorian, was heard to fay, That it was no wonder

wonder the temple was burnt, as Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.

The paſſion which prevailed moſt in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent deſire of glory; but not for every ſpecies of glory. Philip, like a ſophiſt, valued himſelf upon his eloquence, and the beauty of his ſtyle; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins, the ſeveral victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot race. But it was not after ſuch empty honours that his ſon aſpired. His friends aſked him one day, Whether he would not be preſent at the games above-mentioned, in order to diſpute the prize beſtowed on that occaſion? for he was very ſwift of foot. He anſwered, That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagoniſts.

Every time news was brought him that his father had taken ſome city, or gained ſome great battle, Alexander, ſo far from ſharing in the general joy, uſed to ſay, in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young perſons that were brought up with him, Friends, my father will poſſeſs himſelf of every thing, and leave nothing for me to do.

One day, ſome ambaſſadors from the king of Perſia being arrived at court during Philip's abſence, Alexander gave them ſo kind and ſo polite

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a reception, and regaled them in fo noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which moft furprized them was, the good fenfe and judgment he difcovered in the feveral converfations they had with him. He did not propofe to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age; fuch, for inftance, as enquiring about the fo much boafted gardens fufpended in the air; the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Perfia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plaintain tree; and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all forts of precious ftones, under which the Perfian monarch was faid frequently to give audience. Alexander, I fay, afked them queftions of a quite different nature; enquiring which was the road to Upper Afia; the diftance of the feveral places; in what the ftrength and power of the king of Perfia confifted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his fubjects. Thefe ambaffadors admired him all the while; and perceiving, even at that time, how great he might one day become, they obferved, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes, by faying one to another. "This "young prince is great, and ours is rich: that

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"man muſt be vaſtly inſignificant who has no "other merit than his riches!"

So ripe a judgment in this young prince was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happineſs of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all ſuch arts and ſciences as are worthy the heir of a great kingdom; and the chief of theſe was Leonidas, a perſon of the moſt ſevere morals, and a relation to the queen. This Leonidas, in their journies together, uſed frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in other to ſee if Olympias, his mother, had not put ſomething ſuperfluous into them, which might adminiſter to delicacy and luxury.

But the greateſt ſervice Philip did his ſon, was appointing Ariſtotle his preceptor. He was the moſt famous and the moſt learned philoſopher of his age; and was intruſted with the whole care of Alexander's education. One of the reaſons which prompted Philip to chooſe him a maſter of ſuch conſpicuous reputation and merit, was, as he himſelf tells us, that his ſon might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himſelf had been guilty.

Philip was ſenſible how great a treaſure he poſſeſſed in the perſon of Ariſtotle; for which reaſon he ſettled a very genteel ſtipend upon him, and afterwards

afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having deſtroyed and laid waſte the city of Stagira, the native place of that philoſopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinſtated the inhabitants, who had fled from it, or were made ſlaves, and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their ſtudies and aſſemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the ſtone ſeats which Ariſtotle had placed there were ſtanding; as alſo ſpacious viſtas, under which thoſe who walked were ſhaded from the ſun-beans.

Alexander likewiſe diſcovered no leſs eſteem for his maſter, whom he believed himſelf bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring. That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progreſs of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew vaſtly fond of philoſophy, and learned the ſeveral parts of it; but in a manner ſuitable to his birth. Ariſtotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down ſure and certain rules, by which he might diſtinguiſh juſt and ſolid reaſoning from what is but ſpeciouſly ſo; and by accuſtoming him to ſeparate in diſcourſe all ſuch parts as only dazzle, from thoſe which are truly ſolid, and conſtitute its chief value. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly

to morality, which is properly the fcience of kings, becaufe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of their duties. This he made his ferious and profound ftudy, and confidered it even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wife policy.

The greateft mafter of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaft, and who has left fo excellent a treatife on that fubject, took care to make that fcience part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midft of his conqueft, was often very urgent with Ariftotle to fend him a treatife on that fubject. To this we owe the work entitled Alexander's Rhetoric; in the beginning of which, Ariftotle proves to him the vaft advantages a prince may reap from eloquence; as it gives him the greateft afcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wifdom as authority. Some anfwers and letters of Alexander, which are ftill extant, fhew that he poffeffed, in its greateft perfection, that ftrong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with fenfe and ideas, and which is fo entirely free from fuperfluous expreffions, that every fingle word has its meaning; which, properly fpeaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His efteem, or rather his paffion for Homer, fhews, not only with what vigour and fuccefs he applied to polite literature, but the judicious ufe

he made of it, and the ſolid advantages he propoſed to himſelf from it. He was not only prompted to peruſe this poet merely out of curioſity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondneſs for poetry; but his view in ſtudying this admirable writer, was to borrow ſuch ſentiments from him, as were worthy a great king and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. The verſe which pleaſed him moſt in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is repreſented as a good king and a brave warrior.

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander ſhould have ſo high an eſteem for this poet. Thus when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found, among the ſpoils of Darius, a golden box (enriched with precious ſtones) in which the excellent perfumes uſed by that prince were put, Alexander, who was quite covered with duſt, and regardleſs of eſſences and perfumes, ordered, that this box ſhould be employed to no other uſe than to hold Homer's poems; which he believed the moſt perfect, the moſt complete production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, The beſt proviſion for a warrior, He always had with him that edition of Homer which Ariſtotle had reviſed and corrected, and to which the title of The Edition of the Box was

given;

given: and he laid it with his ſword every night under his pillow.

Fond, even to exceſs, of every kind of glory, he was diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle his maſter, for having publiſhed, in his abſence, certain metaphyſical pieces, which he himſelf deſired to poſſeſs excluſively of all others; and even at the time when he was employed in the conqueſt of Aſia, and the purſuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is ſtill extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander ſays in it, That he had much rather ſurpaſs the reſt of men in the knowledge of ſublime and excellent things, than in the greatneſs and extent of his power. He in like manner requeſted Ariſtotle not to ſhew the treatiſe of rhetoric above mentioned to any perſon but to himſelf.

He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as become a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſic, painting, ſculpture, architecture, flouriſhed in his reign; becauſe they found him both a ſkilful judge and a generous protector; who was able to diſtinguiſh and to reward merit.

But he deſpiſed certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no uſe. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himſelf very attentively in throwing ſmall peas through

the eye of a needle; which he would do at a confiderable diftance, and without once miffing. Alexander feeing him at this exercife, ordered him, as we are told, a prefent fuitable to his employment; *viz.* a bafket of peas.

Alexander was of a fprightly difpofition, was refolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the fame time would fubmit immediately to reafon and good fenfe. It is very difficult to treat with perfons of this turn of mind: Phillip accordingly, notwithftanding his double authority of king and father, believed it neceffary to employ perfuafion rather than force with refpect to his fon, and endeavoured to make himfelf beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been fent from Theffaly to Philip a war-horfe; a noble, ftrong, fiery, generous beaft, called Bucephalus. The owner would not fell him under thirteen talents; an immenfe fum! The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horfe; but, upon trial, he appeared fo very fierce, and pranced about in fo furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip being angry that fo furious and unmanageable a creature had been fent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alex-

ander, who was present at that time, cried out, "What a noble horse we are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him!" Philip at first considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men; but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun, having observed, that the thing which frighted him, was his own shadow; Alexander therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice; then seeing his fierceness abate and artfully taking this opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the rein, without once striking or vexing him; and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him that rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke

 a horse

a horſe which was judged abſolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauſes and congratulations; and we are told, Philip ſhed tears of joy on this occaſion; and embracing Alexander, after he was alighted, and kiſſing him, he ſaid to him, "My ſon, ſeek a kingdom more "worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy "merit."

Alexander upon his acceſſion to the throne, ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with extreme dangers; the barbarous nations with whom Philip contended during his whole reign, thought this change for their advantage, and deſpiſing the youth and inexperience of the young monarch, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of regaining their freedom, for ſatiating themſelves with plunder: nor had he leſs to fear from the Greeks themſelves, who now thought this a convenient opportunity to reſtore their ancient form of government, revenge their former injuries, and reclaim thoſe rights which they had enjoyed for ages.

Alexander however reſolved to prevent their machinations, and to give them no time to complete their confederacies againſt him. After taking revenge upon the conſpirators againſt his father, whom he ſlew upon his tomb, he firſt conciliated the affections of the Macedonians to him, by

freeing

freeing them from a vexatious and bodily ſlavery, only commanding their ſervice in wars.

The Macedonians reflecting on his precarious ſituation, adviſed him to relinquiſh Greece, and not perſiſt in his reſolution of ſubduing it by force; to recover by gentle methods the barbarians who had taken arms; and to ſoothe, as it were, thoſe glimmerings of revolt and innovation, by prudent reſerve, complacency and inſinuations, in order to conciliate their affections However, Alexander would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs, by boldneſs and magnanimity; firmly perſuaded, that ſhould he relax in any point at firſt, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromiſe matters, he would be obliged to give up all Philip's conqueſts, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all poſſible haſte to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he croſſed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; and ſubdued ſeveral other barbarous nations, ſome by the terror of his name, and others by the force of his arms; and notwithſtanding the arrogant anſwers of their ambaſſadors, he taught them to dread a danger,

which they found but too ready to overwhelm them.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed at a diſtance againſt the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, and chiefly thoſe who were animated by the eloquence of Demoſthenes, formed a powerful alliance againſt him. A falſe report which prevailed of his death, inſpired the Thebans with a boldneſs that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garriſon in their citadel. Demoſthenes, on the other ſide was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, who he called a child and a hair-brained boy, he aſſured the Athenians, with a deciſive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to ſtir out of his kingdom, but would think himſelf vaſtly happy could he ſit peaceably on his throne. At the ſame time he wrote letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Aſia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's ſecond wife, and was very much diſpoſed to liſten to Demoſthenes' propoſals. Neverthelcſs, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reaſon, he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the ſuſpicions he might entertain, and the better to ſcreen his deſigns, ſent all Demoſthenes'

mosthenes' letters to that prince: but Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

The object which seized Alexander's earliest ambition, was the conquest of Persia; and he now expected that he would have leisure and opportunity to prepare for so great an enterprize; but he was soon called to a new undertaking. The Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, united against him; hoping, by the assistance of Persia, to recover their former freedom. In order to persuade the Greeks to this, Demosthenes made use of a device, which had more cunning in it than wisdom. He caused it to be reported, that Alexander was slain in a battle against the Triballi; and he produced a man to the assembly, who ventured to affirm, that he was present, and wounded, when his general was slain. These false reports, which serve for a day, are but bad policy; like a false alarm in battle the people may sometimes be mocked by them; but in the end, the success will prove as ridiculous as the invention; for those that find themselves at one time abused by

by ſuch, will, at other times, neglect the real call of truth. This unfortunate confederation obliged Alexander to turn his ſword from the Perſians againſt the Greeks, of whoſe aſſiſtance he had but juſt before aſſured himſelf.

Expedition and activity were the characteriſtics of this monarch's conduct. Having heard of the ſlaughter of the Macedonian garriſon of Thebes, and of the union formed againſt him by the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, he immediately put his army in motion. He paſſed over the craggy top of Mount Oſſa, to elude the Theſſalians, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the defiles lying between Theſſaly and Macedon, and moved on with ſuch rapidity, that his appearance in Greece gave the firſt news of his preparation for war. He appeared ſo ſuddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could ſcarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent; and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothules, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who ſhould come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of inſult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were ſolicitous for the liberty of Greece to join with them in its defence.

Alexander,

Alexander, finding it impoſſible for him to get the better of their obſtinacy by offers of peace, ſaw with grief that he would be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themſelves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their ſtrength, for the enemy exceeded them vaſtly in numbers. But after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurvived of the Macedonian garriſon in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, who being ſurrounded on all ſides, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impoſſible for words to expreſs the dreadful calamities which the Thebans ſuffered on this occaſion. Some Thracians having pulled down the houſe of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treaſures; and their captain having ſeized the lady and ſatiated his brutal luſt with her, afterwards enquired whether ſhe had not concealed gold and ſilver. Timoclea animated by an ardent deſire of revenge, replying, That ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into the garden, and ſhewing him a well, told him, That the inſtant ſhe ſaw the enemy enter the city, ſhe herſelf had thrown into it the moſt precious things in her poſſeſſion.

The

The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and ftooping down to fee its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pufhing him with all her ftrength, threw him in, and afterwards killed him with great ftones, which fhe heaped upon him. She was inftantly feized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince immediately perceived, by her mien, that fhe was a woman of quality and great fpirit, for fhe followed thofe brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without difcovering the leaft fear. Alexander afking her who fhe was, Timoclea replied, "I am fifter to Theagenes, who fought againft Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Cheronæa, where he commanded." The prince, admiring her generous anfwer, and ftill more the action that fhe had done, gave orders that fhe fhould have leave to retire wherever fhe pleafed with her children.

Alexander then debated in council how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocians, and the people of Plateæa, Thefpiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and fhared in his victory, reprefented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who alfo had deftroyed their feveral cities, and reproached them with the zeal which they always difcovered in favour of the Perfians againft the Greeks, who held

held them in the utmoſt deteſtation; the proof of which was, the oath they had all taken to deſtroy Thebes, after they ſhould have vanquiſhed the Perſians.

Cleades, one of the priſoners, being permitted to ſpeak, endeavoured to excuſe, in ſome meaſure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will or declared perfidy. He remonſtrated, that his countryman, upon a falſe report of Alexander's death, had, indeed, too raſhly broke out into rebellion; not againſt the king however, but againſt his ſucceſſors; that what crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſhed for them with the utmoſt ſeverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city; that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear, and who were ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander that Thebes, which had given birth to ſo many gods and heroes, ſeveral of whom were that king's anceſtors, had alſo been the ſeat of his father Philip's riſing glory, and like a ſecond native country to him.

These

Theſe motives which Cleades urged were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was deſtroyed. However, he ſet at liberty the prieſts; all ſuch as had a right of hoſpitality with the Macedonians; the deſcendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done ſo much to Greece; and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt. But all the reſt, in number about thirty thouſand he ſold! and upwards of ſix thouſand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at the ſad diſaſter which had befallen Thebes, that being about to ſolemnize the feſtival of the Great Myſteries, they ſuſpended them upon account of their extreme grief; and received, with the greateſt humanity, all thoſe who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their aſylum.

Alexander's ſudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtineſs of the Athenians, and extinguiſhed Demoſthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation. They therefore had recourſe to entreaties, and a deputation to Alexander to implore his clemency; Demoſthenes was among them; but he was no ſooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than

dreading

dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embaſſy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander ſent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been the chief inſtruments in forming the league which Philip, his father, had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occaſion that Demoſthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and the dogs; in which it is ſuppoſed, That the wolves one day told the ſheep, that in caſe they deſired to be at peace with them, they muſt deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard. The application was eaſy and natural; eſpecially with reſpect to the orators, who were juſtly compared to dogs, whoſe duty it was to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to ſave the lives of the flock.

In this afflicting dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themſelves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to ſave their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendſhip, offered to undertake the embaſſy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had ſatiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if poſſible, by ſome act of clemency, the barbarous action he had juſt before committed, or rather to remove the ſeveral obſtacles which might retard the exe-

cution of his grand defign, and by that means not leave, during his abfence the leaft pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their fending Caridemus into banifhment; who being a native of Oræa, had been prefented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the fervices he had done the republic. He was fon in-law to Cherfobleptus, king of Thrace: had learned the art of war under Iphicrates; and had himfelf frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the purfuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Perfia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the feveral injuries he pretended to have received, but expreffed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themfelves vigoroufly to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the feveral tranfactions which might happen; becaufe in cafe of his death, their city was to give laws to the reft of Greece. Hiftorians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was feized with deep remorfe for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans; and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of feverity towards fo powerful a city as Thebes, fpread the terror of his arms

arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He ſummoned at Corinth, the aſſembly of the ſeveral ſtates and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the ſame ſupreme command againſt the Perſians, which had been granted to his father a little before his death. No aſſembly ever debated upon a more important ſubject. It was the weſtern world deliberating upon the ruin of the eaſt; and the methods for executing a revenge which had been ſuſpended more than an age. The aſſembly held at this time, gave riſe to events, the relation of which appear aſtoniſhing, and almoſt incredible; and to revolutions, which contributed to change the diſpoſition of moſt things in the political world.

To form ſuch a deſign, required a prince bold, enterpriſing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who, having a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obſtacles; but, above all, a monarch, who had a ſupreme authority over all the ſtates of Greece, none of which, ſingly, was powerful enough to make ſo arduous an attempt; and which required in order to their acting in concert, to be ſubject to one chief, who might give motion to the ſeveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the ſame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for

 him

him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Perſians, their perpetual and irreconcileable enemies; whoſe deſtruction they had more than once ſworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; a hatred which the inteſtine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have ſuſpended, but could never extinguiſh. The immortal retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the prodigious army of the Perſians, ſhewed plainly what might be expected from an army compoſed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and thoſe of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to ſay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the aſſembly were therefore ſhort. The Spartans were the only people who ventured to remonſtrate; though ſeveral others were inimical to the intereſts of the Macedonians. Mindful of their former independence and greatneſs, they told Alexander, that "the Lacedæmonians were accuſtomed to point out the way to glorious deeds, and not to be directed by others." But they were obliged to ſubmit to the prevailing ſenſe of the aſſembly; and Alexander was, of courſe, appointed generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians.

Immediately

Immediately a great number of officers, and governors of cities, with many philofophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himfelf, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would alfo come like the reft, and pay his compliments. This philofopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men juft upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till thofe perfons fhould perform actions worthy of their high ftations. Diogenes therefore ftill continued at home; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a vifit. The philofopher was at that time lying down in the fun; but feeing fo great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he fat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, furprized to behold fo famous a philofopher living in fuch extreme poverty, after faluting him in the kindeft manner, afked, Whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes reply, "Only that you would ftand a little out of my fun-fhine." This anfwer raifed the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch ftruck with the philofopher's greatnefs of foul, "Were I not Alexander, fays he, I would be Diogenes." In a word, all or nothing prefents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. How great and powerful foever that prince might

think himſelf, he could not deny but that he was leſs happy than a man to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing.

Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia, was determined to conſult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos, where he happened to arrive in thoſe days which are called unlucky; a ſeaſon in which people were forbid conſulting the oracle; and accordingly the prieſteſs refuſed to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm, and as he was leading her to the temple, ſhe cried out, "My ſon, thou art irreſiſtible." This was all he deſired; and catching hold of theſe words, which he conſidered as ſpoke by the oracle, he ſet out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Alexander being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the nobles of his court, on the expedition he meditated againſt Perſia, and the meaſures he ſhould take in order to ſucceed in it. The whole aſſembly were unanimous, except in one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would neceſſarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a conſort, in order to ſecure himſelf a ſucceſſor to his throne. But Alexander, who was

of a violent fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed that after he had been nominated generaliſſimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a ſhame for him to loſe his time in ſolemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it: for which reaſon he determined to ſet out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very ſplendid ſacrifices to the gods, and cauſed to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, ſcenical games that had been inſtituted by one of his anceſtors, in honour of Jupiter and the Muſes. This feſtival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of thoſe goddeſſes. He had a tent raiſed large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which conſequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feaſt the ſeveral princes of his family, all the ambaſſadors, generals and officers were invited.

Before he ſet out upon his great expedition, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thouſand foot, and near the ſame number of horſe. He alſo enquired into the domeſtic affairs of his friends, giving to one an eſtate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. As all the revenues of his demeſnes were already employed and exhauſted by his donations, Perdiccas ſaid to him,

"My lord, what is it you referve for yourfelf?" Alexander replied, Hope: upon which Perdiccas faid, "the fame hope ought therefore to fatisfy us;" and fo refufed very generoufly to accept of what the king had appointed him.

After having completely fettled his affairs in Macedonia, and ufed all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from arifing in it during his abfence, he fet out for Afia in the beginning of the fpring. His army confifted of little more than thirty thoufand foot, and four or five thoufand horfe; but then they were all brave men, well difciplined, and enured to fatigue. They had made feveral campaigns under Philip, and were each of them in cafe of neceffity, capable of commanding; moft of the officers were near threefcore years of age, and the common men fifty; and when they were either affembled or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable fenate. Farmenio commanded the infantry; Philotas, his fon, had eighteen hundred horfe under him; and Callas, the fon of Harpalus, the fame number of Theffalian cavalry. The reft of the horfe were compofed of natives of the feveral ftates of Greece; they amounted to fix hundred, and had a feparate commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Caffander. Such was the army

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which was to decide the fortune, not only of Greece, but of all the eaſtern world. Alexander began his march along the lake Cærcinum, towards Amphipolis; croſſed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Seſtos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to croſs over from Seſtos to Abydos, with all the horſe and part of the foot; which he accordingly did with the aſſiſtance of an hundred and threeſcore gallies, and ſeveral flat-bottomed veſſels, while he himſelf croſſed over the Helleſpont, ſteering his galley with his own hands; when he arrived near the ſhore, as if to take poſſeſſion of the continent, he leaped from his ſhip in complete armour, and teſtified many tranſports of joy.

This confidence ſoon began to diffuſe itſelf over all the reſt of his army; it inſpired his ſoldiers with ſo much courage and ſecurity, that they fancied themſelves marching not to a precarious war, but a certain victory.

It has often been thought ſtrange, that no meaſures were adopted by the Perſians to ſtop the progreſs of the Macedonian army; more eſpecially as they had been apprized of Alexander's intentions a conſiderable time before he quitted Macedon. Perſia was, at that time, in poſſeſſion of a very numerous and powerful fleet, while that of

the Macedonians was ſmall, and their ſeamen unaccuſtomed to naval evolutions. It would therefore, appear, that if the Perſian fleet had repaired ſpeedily to the Helleſpont, and there brought the enemy to an engagement, they might have checked their aſpiring foe in the outſet, and ſo have ſaved both their honour and their empire. What could be their reaſon for omitting ſo fair an opportunity of averting the blow that was ſoon to cruſh them, is not a queſtion of eaſy ſolution. Perhaps Darius and his miniſters thought themſelves ſecure, on account of the great ſuperiority of their troops in point of number; or were ſo ſunk in luxury and effeminacy, that their ruin was well nigh effected before they were rouſed from their lethargy. From whatever cauſe their ſupineneſs aroſe, they ſeem to have been infatuated. They ſeem to have been, from the beginning, the devoted victims of Alexander's reſentment and ambition.

Being arrived at the city of Lampſacus, which Alexander was determined to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the rebellion of its inhabitants. Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous hiſtorian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem for him, having been his pupil. The king ſuſpecting the buſineſs he came upon, to be before-hand with him, ſwore,

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in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. The favour I have to deſire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you will deſtroy Lampſacus. By this witty evaſion the hiſtorian ſaved his country.

From thence Alexander went to Troy, where he paid great honours to the ſhade of Achilles, and cauſed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the felicity of that Grecian hero, in having found, during life, a faithful friend in Patroclus, and after death a noble panegyriſt in Homer.

When the news of Alexander's landing in Aſia was brought to Darius, he teſtified the utmoſt contempt for the Macedonian army, and indignation at the preſumption of their generals. In a letter which he wrote, he reprehended this audacious inſolence, and gave orders to his various governors, in the different parts of his dominions, that if they took Alexander alive, to whip him with rods, make priſoners of his whole army, and ſend them as ſlaves to one of the moſt deſerted parts of his dominions. Thus confiding in the glittering but barbarous multitude which he commanded, he diſpoſed of the enemy as already vanquiſhed; but confidence goes but a ſhort part of the road to ſucceſs. The great numbers which he had gathered, only brought unwieldy ſplendor into the field, and inſtead

inftead of procuring him fecurity, encreafed his embarraffments.

Alexander being at length arrived on the banks of the Grannicus, a river of Phrygia, found the Perfians difpofed to difpute his paffage. The Perfian fatrap taking poffeffion of the higher banks, at the head of an army of one hundred thoufand foot, and upwards of ten thoufand horfe, feemed to promife himfelf victory. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coaft of Afia, had advifed the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay wafte the plains, and even the cities, thereby to ftarve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the beft of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not eafy to determine what we ought to admire moft in him; whether his great wifdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his fovereign. The counfel he gave on this occafion was excellent, when we confider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was abfolutely a ftranger, and inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arfites, a Phrygian fatrap, oppofed the

the opinion of Memon, and protefted he would never fuffer the Grecians to make fuch havock in the territories he governed. This ill council prevailed over that of the Rhodian, whom the Perfians, to their great prejudice, fufpected of a defign to protract the war, and by that means of making himfelf neceffary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings, and the baggage following in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Grannicus, Parmenio advifed him to encamp there in battle array, in order that his forces might have time to reft themfelves, and not to pafs the river till very early next morning, becaufe the enemy would then be lefs able to prevent him; he added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt croffing a river in fight of an enemy, efpecially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; fo that the Perfian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array on the other fide, might eafily defeat them before they were drawn up; that befides the lofs which would be fuftained on this occafion, this enterprize, in cafe it fhould prove unfuccefsful, would be of dangerous confequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the firft actions.

However,

However, thefe reafons were not able to make the leaft impreffion on Alexander, who declared that it would be a fhame fhould he, after croffing the Hellefpont, fuffer his progrefs to be retarded by a rivulet, for fo he called the Grannicus out of contempt; that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the fuddennefs of his arrival, and the boldnefs of his attempt, had fpread among the Perfians, and anfwer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horfe, which were very numerous, lined the whole fhore, and formed a large front, in order to oppofe Alexander wherever he fhould endeavour to pafs; and the foot, which confifted chiefly of Greeks in Darius's fervice, were pofted behind, upon an eafy afcent.

The two armies continued a long time in fight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Perfians waited till the Macedonians fhould enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter feemed to be making choice of a place proper for croffing, and to furvey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander ordered his horfe to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himfelf commanded the right wing, and Parmenio

menio the left. The king firſt cauſed a ſtrong detachment to march into the river, himſelf following it with the reſt of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing: he himſelf led on the right wing into the river, followed by the reſt of the troops; the trumpets ſounding and the whole army raiſing cries of joy.

The Perſians, ſeeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horſe engaged with great fury, one part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whoſe cavalry was vaſtly inferior in number, beſides the diſadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were ſhot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Perſian horſe were drawn together in this place, and that Memnon, in concert with his ſons, commanded there. The Macedonians, therefore, at firſt gave ground, after having loſt the firſt ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who followed them cloſe, and reinforced them with his beſt troops, headed them himſelf, animated them by his preſence, puſhed the Perſians, and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, croſſed the river, and attacked the enemy on all ſides.

Alexander

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only the horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he went. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rasaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with his

his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut off Rafaces's hand with one ftroke of his fcimitar, and by that means faved his fovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been expofed greatly animated the courage of his foldiers, who now performed wonders. The Perfians in the centre of the horfe, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been pofted in the intervals of the horfe, poured a perpetual difcharge of darts, being unable to fuftain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who ftruck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke, and put to flight, Alexander did not purfue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

Thefe at firft ftood their ground, but when they faw themfelves attacked at the fame time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx which had croffed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, thofe of the Perfians did not make either a long or a vigorous refiftance, and were foon put to flight; the Grecian infantry in Darius's fervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promife from Alexander to let them march away unmolefted; but following the dictates

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of his wrath, rather than thofe of reafon, he rufhed into the midft of this body of foot, and prefently loft his horfe, who was killed with the thruft of a fword. The battle was fo hot round him, that moft of the Macedonians, who loft their lives on this occafion, fell here; for they fought againft a body of men who were well difciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in defpair. They were all cut to pieces, two thoufand excepted, who were taken prifoners.

A great number of the Perfian commanders lay dead on the fpot. Ariftes fled into Phrygia, where it is faid he laid violent hands on himfelf, for having been the caufe that the battle was fought. Twenty thoufand foot, and two thoufand five hundred horfe, were killed in this engagement, on the fide of the barbarians; and of the Macedonians twenty-five of the royal horfe were killed at the firft attack. Alexander ordered Lyfippus to make their ftatues in brafs, all of which were fet up in a city of Macedon, called Dia, from whence they were, many years after, carried to Rome, by Metellus. About threefcore of the other horfe were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and fervice.

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He alſo took the utmoſt care of the wounded, viſited them, and ſaw their wounds dreſſed. He enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boaſt of his bravery. He alſo granted the rights of ſepulture to the principal Perſians, and did not even refuſe it to ſuch Greeks as died in the Perſian ſervice; but all thoſe whom he took priſoners he laid in chains, and ſent to work as ſlaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian ſtandard againſt their country, contrary to the expreſs prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleaſure to ſhare the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and ſent to the Athenians three hundred ſhields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and cauſed the glorious inſcription following to be inſcribed on the reſt of the ſpoils:—"*Alexander, ſon of Philip,* "*with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted)* "*gained theſe ſpoils from the barbarians, who inhabit* "*Aſia.*" The greateſt part of the gold and ſilver plate, the purple carpets, and other articles of Perſian luxury, he ſent to his mother.

This victory not only impreſſed the Perſians with conſternation, but ſerved to excite the ardour of the invading army. The Perſians perceiving that the Greeks were able to overcome them,

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thoug poſſeſſed of manifeſt advantages, ſuppoſed that they never could be able to face them upon equal terms; and thus, from the firſt miſchance, they gave up all hopes of ſucceeding by valour. Indeed, in all invaſions where the nations invaded have been once beaten, with great advantages of ſituation on their ſide, ſuch as defenſive rivers, ſtraits, and mountains, they have always perſuaded themſelves, that upon equal terms, ſuch an enemy muſt be irreſiſtible. It is the opinion of Machiavel, that he who reſolves to defend a paſſage, ſhould do it with his ableſt forces; for few regions of any circuit are ſo well defended by nature, that armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, cannot break through the natural difficulties of the entrance; one paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded; and ſome place weakly defended will be the cauſe of a fatal triumph to the invaders. How often have the Alps given way to armies breaking into Italy? and though they produced dreadful difficulties and dangers among thoſe that ſcaled them, yet they were never found to give ſecurity to thoſe that lay behind. It was therefore wiſely done of Alexander to paſs the river in the face of the enemy, without marching higher to ſeek an eaſier paſſage, or labouring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer method. Having beaten the enemy upon

their own terms, he no leſs deſtroyed their reputation than their ſtrength, leaving the wretched ſubjects of ſuch a ſtate no hopes of ſuccour from ſuch unable protectors.

Soon after the battle of Grannicus he recovered Sardis from the enemy, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the ſide next the ſea. He took the inhabitants under his protection, received their nobles with the utmoſt condeſcenſion, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and maxims; obſerving to his friends around him, That ſuch as lay the foundations of a new dominion, ſhould always endeavour to have the fame of being merciful. Four days after, he arrived at Epheſus, carrying with him thoſe who had been baniſhed from thence for being his adherents, and reſtored its popular form of government. He aſſigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Perſia. Before he left Epheſus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magneſia waited upon him with the keys of thoſe places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of a ſudden and powerful ſupport, ſhut their gates againſt him; and, indeed, the Perſian fleet, which was very conſiderable, made a ſhew as if it would ſuccour that city; but after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to

engage that of the enemy, it was intimidated, and forced to retire. Memnon had ſhut himſelf up in this fortreſs, with a great number of his ſoldiers who had eſcaped from the battle, and was determined to make a vigorous defence. Alexander, who would not loſe a moment's time, attacked it, and planted ſcaling ladders on all ſides. The ſcalade was carried on with great vigour, and oppoſed with no leſs intrepidity, though Alexander ſent freſh troops to relieve thoſe that had been on duty, without the leaſt intermiſſion; and this laſted ſeveral days. At laſt, finding his ſoldiers were every where repulſed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long ſiege, he planted all his machines againſt it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever theſe were attacked, a new ſcalade was attempted. The beſieged, after ſuſtaining all theſe efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, to prevent being taken by ſtorm. Alexander treated the Mileſians with the utmoſt humanity, but ſold all the foreigners who were found in it.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay ſiege to Halicarnaſſus. This city was of prodigious difficult acceſs, from its happy ſituation, and had been ſtrongly fortified. Beſides, Memnon, the ableſt as well as the moſt valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with

with a body of choice ſoldiers, with a deſign to ſignalize his courage, and fidelity for his ſovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was ſeconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the ſcience of war, was conſpicuous on both ſides on this occaſion. Memnon, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the ſea was open to him, after having put a ſtrong garriſon into the citadel, which was well ſtored with proviſions, he took with him the ſurviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the iſland of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnaſſus. Alexander did not think proper to beſiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was deſtroyed, which he demoliſhed to the very foundations. He left it after having encompaſſed it with ſtrong walls, and ſtationed ſome good troops in the country.

Soon after this, he reſtored Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, of which ſhe had been diſpoſſeſſed ſome time before: and, as a teſtimony of the deep ſenſe ſhe had of the favours received from Alexander, ſhe ſent him every day meats dreſſed in the moſt exquiſite manner, and the moſt excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander anſwered the

queen on this occaſion, That all this train was of no ſervice to him, for that he was poſſeſſed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him; one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and the other an excellent ſupper, and thoſe were Temperance and Exerciſe.

Several kings of Aſia Minor ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of theſe, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was ſon to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elſewhere. He is computed to be the ſixteenth king from Artabanus, who is conſidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in poſſeſſion by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, his father. The famous Mithridates, who ſo long employed the Roman armies, was one of his ſucceſſors.

The year enſuing Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt Darius, or firſt ſubdue the reſt of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch nations as he ſhould leave behind him. This progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt. Near Phaſelis, a city ſituated between Lyſia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the ſea ſhore, which is always

always dry at low water, ſo that travellers may paſs it at that time; but when the ſea riſes, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waiſt.

Alexander, after having ſettled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Cœlenæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marſyas, which the fictions of poets have made ſo famous. He ſummoned the garriſon of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to ſurrender; but theſe believing it impregnable, anſwered haughtily, That they would firſt die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they deſired a truce of ſixty days, at the expiration of which they promiſed to open their gates, in caſe they were not ſuccoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they ſurrendered themſelves upon the day fixed.

From thence he marched into Phrygia, the ancient dominion of the celebrated king Midas; having taken the capital city, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was tied with ſo much intricacy, that it was impoſſible to diſcover where the ends begun,

or how they were concealed. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, ſhould poſſeſs the empire of Aſia. Alexander being firmly perſuaded that the oracle was meant for him, after many fruitleſs trials, inſtead of attempting to untie it in the uſual manner, drew his ſword, and cut it to pieces, crying out, That that was the only way to untie it. The prieſt hailed the omen, and declared that Alexander had fulfilled the oracle.

Darius, who now began to be more alarmed than before, uſed all the art in his power to raiſe an army, and encourage his forces. He ſent Memnon into Greece to invade Macedon, in order to make a diverſion of the Grecian forces: but this general dying upon that expedition; Darius's hopes vaniſhed on that quarter; and inſtead of invading the enemy, he was obliged to conſult for the protection of his empire at home.

In the mean time, Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death; the news whereof confirmed him in the reſolution he had taken, of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Aſia. Accordingly he advanced, by haſty marches, into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called Cyrus's

Camp. From thence there is no more than fifty ſtadia (two leagues and a half each) to the paſs of Cilicia, which is a very narrow ſtrait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarſus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few ſoldiers in it; and thoſe fled the inſtant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the paſs; and after viewing very attentively the ſituation of the place, admired his own good fortune, and confeſſed, He might have been very eaſily ſtopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of ſtones; for not to mention that this paſs was ſo narrow, that four men completely armed, could ſcarcely walk abreaſt in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only ſtrait but broke in ſeveral places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarſus, where it arrived the inſtant the Perſians were ſetting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of ſo flouriſhing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had ſent thither with a detachment of horſe, arrived very ſeaſonably to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, and marched into the city; which he ſaved, the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through

Through this city the Cydnus runs; a river not ſo remarkable for the breadth of its channel, at for the beauty of its waters, which are vaſtly limpid; but at the ſame time exceſſively cold, becauſe of the tufted trees with which its banks are overſhadowed. It was now about the end of the ſummer, which is exceſſively hot in Cilicia, and in the hotteſt part of the day; when the king, who was quite covered with ſweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe, invited by the beauty and clearneſs of the ſtream. However, the inſtant he plunged into it, he was ſeized with ſo violent a ſhivering, that all the bye-ſtanders fancied he was dying. Upon this he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies. However, Philip, one of his phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, and loved him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not only as his ſovereign, but his child, raiſing himſelf (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential conſiderations, offered to give him a doſe, which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its effects; and deſired three days to prepare it. At this propoſal every one trembled, but he only whom it moſt concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no

other

other account, than becaufe it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilft thefe things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers: the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Phillp his phyfician, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promife of a thoufand talents, and his fifter in marriage. This letter gave him great uneafinefs; for he was now at full leifure to weigh all the reafons he might have to hope or fear. But confidence in a phyfician, whofe fincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, foon prevailed, and removed all fufpicions. He folded up the letter, and put it under his bolfter, without acquainting his attendants with the contents; in the mean time, his phyfician entered, with a medicine in his hand, and offered the cup to Alexander. The hero upon this, took the cup from him, and holding out the letter, defired the phyfician to read, while he drank off the draught with an intrepid countenance, without the leaft hefitation, or difcovering the leaft fufpicion or uneafinefs. The Phyfician, as he perufed the letter, fhewed greater figns of indignation than of fear; he bid him, with a refolute tone, harbour no uneafinefs, and that the recovery of his health would

would in a ſhort time wipe off all ſuſpicion. In the mean time, the phyſic wrought ſo violently, that the ſymptoms ſeemed to ſtrengthen Parmenio's accuſation; but at laſt, the medicine having gained the aſcendant, he began to aſſume his accuſtomed vigour; and in about three days, he was able to ſhew himſelf to his longing ſoldiers, by whom he was equally beloved and reſpected.

In the mean time Darius was on his march; filled with a vain ſecurity in the ſuperiority of his numbers; and confident not in the valour, but in the ſplendor of his forces. The plains of Aſſyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horſe as he pleaſed, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of ſoldiers in each army gave him. But inſtead of this, he reſolved to march to narrow paſſes, where his cavalry, and the multitude of his troops, ſo far from doing him any ſervice, could only incumber each other; and accordingly, advanced towards the enemy, for whom he ſhould have waited; and thus ran viſibly on his deſtruction.

His courtiers and attendants however, whoſe cuſtom it was to flatter and applaud all his actions, congratulated him upon an approaching victory, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Cari-

Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who perfonally hated Alexander, for having caufed him to be banifhed from Athens. Darius turning to this Athenian, afked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his army. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bofom of liberty, forgetting that he was in a country of flavery, where to oppofe the inclinations of the prince is of the moft dangerous confequence, replied as follows: "Permit me, Sir, to "fpeak truth now, when only my fincerity can be "of fervice; your prefent fplendor, your pro-"digious numbers which have drained the eaft, "may be terrible indeed to your effeminate neigh-"bours, but can be no way dreadful to a Mace-"donian army. Difcipline, clofe combat, courage, "is all their care; every fingle man among them "is almoft himfelf a general. Thefe men are not "to be repulfed by the ftones of flingers, or ftakes "burnt at the end; none but troops armed like "themfelves can ftop their career; let therefore "the gold and filver which glitters in your camp, "be exchanged for foldiers and fteel, for weapons "and for hearts that are able to defend you." Darius, though naturally of a mild difpofition, had all his paffions roufed at the freedom of this man's advice; he ordered him at once to be executed; Caridemus all the time crying out,

that

that his avenger was at hand: Darius too ſoon repented his raſhneſs, and experienced when it was too late, the truth of all that had been told him.

The emperor now advanced with his troops towards the river Euphrates; over his tent was exhibited to the view of his whole army, the image of the ſun in jewels; while wealth and magnificence ſhone in every quarter of the army.

Firſt they carried ſilver altars, on which lay fire, called by them Sacred and Eternal; and theſe were followed by the Magi, ſinging hymns, after the manner of their country: they were accompanied by three hundred and ſixty-five youths (equalling the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot conſecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by a courſer of a prodigious ſize, to whom they gave the name of the Sun's Horſe; and the equerries were dreſſed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with ſculptures in gold and ſilver followed after. Then marched a body of horſe, compoſed of twelve nations, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the Perſians called The Immortals, amounting to ten thouſand, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of the barbarians

barians in the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tiſſue, with veſtments having ſleeves to them quite covered with precious ſtones.

Thirty paces from them followed thoſe called the king's relations, to the number of fifteen thouſand, in habits very much reſembling thoſe of women; and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dreſs, than the glitter of their arms.

Thoſe called the Doriphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he ſeemed to ſit, as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both ſides with images of the gods, in gold and ſilver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, roſe two ſtatues, a cubit in height, the one repreſenting War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king; he was clothed in a veſt of purple, ſtriped with ſilver, and over it a long robe, glittering all over with gold and precious ſtones, that repreſented two falcons, ruſhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waiſt he wore a golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his ſcimitar hung, the ſcabbard of which flamed all over with gems; on his head

he

he wore a tiara, or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each fide of him walked two hundred of his neareft relations, followed by two thoufand pikemen, whofe pikes were adorned with filver, and tipped with gold; and laftly, thirty thoufand infantry, who compofed the rear-guard. Thefe were followed by the king's horfes, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syfigambis, Darius's mother, feated on a chariot, and his confort, on another; with the feveral female attendants of both queens, riding on horfeback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children and thofe who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great efteem among thofe nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and fixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by fix hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treafure, and guarded by a great body of archers.

After thefe came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greateft lords of the court; then the futlers, and fervants of the army, feated alfo in chariots.

In

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who clofed the whole march.

Such was the fplendor of this pageant monarch; he took the field encumbered with an unneceffary train of concubines, attended with troops of various nations, fpeaking different languages, for their numbers impoffible to be marfhalled, and fo rich and effeminate in gold and in garments, as feemed rather to invite than deter an invader.

Alexander, after marching from Tarfus, arrived at Bactriana; from thence, ftill earneft in coming up with his enemy, he came to Solæ, where he offered facrifice to Æfculapius; from thence he went forward to Pyramus, to Malles, and at laft to Cartabala: it was here that he firft received advice that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Affyria, two days journey from Cilicia. He therefore refolved without delay to meet him there, as the badnefs of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius led on his immenfe army into the plains of Affyria, which they covered to a great extent; there he was advifed by the Grecian commanders who were in his fervice, and who compofed the ftrength of his army, to halt, as he would there have fufficient room to expand his forces, and furround the invader. Darius re-

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

jected their advice; and, inftead of waiting Alexander's approach, vainly puffed up with pride by his furrounding courtiers, he refolved to purfue the invader, who wifhed for nothing more ardently than to come to an engagement.

Accordingly, Darius having fent his treafures to Damafcus, a city of Affyria, he marched with the main body of his army towards Cilicia, then turned fhort towards Iffus; and, quite ignorant of the fituation of the enemy, fuppofed he was purfuing Alexander, when he had actually left him in the rear. There is a ftrange mixture of pride, cruelty, fplendor and magnanimity, in all the actions of this Perfian prince. At Iffus he barbaroufly put to death all the Greeks who were fick in that city, a few foldiers only excepted, whom he difmiffed, after having made them view every part of his camp, in order to report his numbers and ftrength to the invader; thefe foldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of the approach of Darius; and he now began to think ferioufly of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, from the numbers of the enemy, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with a ditch and a rampart; but at the fame time difcovered great joy to fee the enemy haftening to their own deftruction, and preparing to attack him in a place which was but wide enough for

for a ſmall army to act and move at liberty in. Thus the two armies were in ſome meaſure reduced to an equality: the Macedonians had ſpace ſufficient to employ their whole force, while the Perſians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheleſs, Alexander, as frequently happens to the greateſt captains, felt ſome emotion when he ſaw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other ſide, his courage revived, from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at leaſt hoped to die glorioufly, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge theſe thoughts to any one; well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to diſcover the leaſt marks of ſadneſs or perplexity; and that the troops ſhould read nothing but reſolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his ſoldiers refreſh themſelves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, ſacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the

 gods

gods of the place. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, his army which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make great ſpeed, arrived by day-break at the ſeveral poſts aſſigned them. But now the ſpies bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king cauſed his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peaſants, in the greateſt terror, came alſo, and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy; which he would not at firſt believe, imagining, as we have obſerved, that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to eſcape. This news threw his troops into the utmoſt confuſion; who, in their ſurpriſe, ran to their arms with great precipitation and diſorder.

The ſpot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Iſſus, which the mountains bounded on one ſide, and the ſea on the other. The plain that was ſituated between them both muſt have been conſiderably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before obſerved, that Darius's army was vaſtly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain, from the mountain to the ſea, and divided it very nearly into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow kind of gulph, the extremity of which, in a curved line, bounded part of the plain.

Alexander

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He poſted at the extremity of the right wing which ſtood near the mountains, the Argyraſpides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he poſted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and laſtly that of Meleagar. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was compoſed of ſix diſtinct bodies. Each of thoſe was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generaliſſimo, had conſequently the command of the whole army. The horſe were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians with the Theſſalians on the right, and the Peloponneſians, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot, which compoſed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reſerved to himſelf the command of the right. He had deſired Parmenio to keep as near the ſea as poſſible, to prevent the barbarians from ſurrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance from the mountains, to keep himſelf out of the reach of the arrows diſcharged by thoſe who were poſted on them. He covered the horſe on his right wing with the light horſe of Protomachus and the Pœonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reſerved

ferved the Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who was greatly efteemed, and fome forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppofe thofe Darius had pofted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded thirty thoufand horfe, and twenty thoufand bowmen, to crofs the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither fide. In the centre he pofted the thirty thoufand Greeks in his fervice, who doubtlefs were the flower and chief ftrength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thoufand barbarians on their right, and as many on their left. The field of battle not being able to contain a great number, thefe were all heavily armed. The reft of the infantry, diftinguifhed by their feveral nations, were ranged behind the firft line. It is a pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of thofe two lines; but it muft have been prodigious, if we confider the extreme narrownefs of the pafs, and the amazing multitude of the Perfian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, againft Alexander's right wing, Darius pofted twenty thoufand men, who were fo ranged (in the feveral windings of the

 mountains)

mountains) that ſome were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius after having put his army in battle array, made his horſe croſs the river again, and diſpatched the greateſt part of them towards the ſea againſt Parmenio, becauſe they could fight on that ſpot with the greateſt advantage. The reſt of his cavalry he ſent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that theſe would be of no ſervice on that ſide, becauſe of the too great narrowneſs of the ſpot, he cauſed a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himſelf, he took his poſt in the centre of his army, purſuant to the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle Alexander marched very ſlowly, that his ſoldiers might take a little breath: ſo that it was ſuppoſed they would not engage till very late. For Darius ſtill continued with his army on the other ſide of the river, in order not to loſe the advantageous ſituation which he had gained; and he even cauſed ſuch parts of the ſhore as were not craggy, to be ſecured with paliſadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in ſight, Alexander riding along the ranks, called by their ſeveral names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners, and exhorted

the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and diſpoſition. The whole army ſet up a ſhout, and eagerly deſired to be led on directly againſt the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at firſt very ſlowly, to prevent the ranks on the front of the phalanx from breaking, and halted by intervals. But when he was got within bow-ſhot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuouſly into the river, purpoſely that he might ſurprize the barbarians, come ſooner to a cloſe engagement, and be leſs expoſed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very ſucceſsful. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt bravery and reſolution; and being now forced to fight cloſe, they charged both ſides ſword in hand, when a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his ſword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private ſoldier and of a commander, wiſhed nothing ſo ardently as the glory of killing with his own hand Darius, who being ſeated on a high chariot was conſpicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object both to encourage his own ſoldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than, before, ſo that a great

number of Perſian noblemen were killed. Each ſide fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, obſerving that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmoſt vigour, ruſhed before his chariot with the horſe under his command, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt. The horſes that drew Darius's chariot loſt all command, and ſhook the yoke ſo violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king; who, ſeeing himſelf going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The reſt obſerving this, fled as faſt as poſſible, and throwing down their arms, made the beſt of their way. Alexander had received a ſlight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill conſequences. Whilſt part of the Macedonian cavalry (poſted to the right) were improving the advantages they had gained againſt the Perſians, the remainder of them, who engaged the Greeks, met with greater reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving that the body of infantry in queſtion were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was purſuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to puſh the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diſorder into which the left wing had been thrown.

The

The Macedonians alſo ſignaliſed themſelves by the utmoſt bravery, in order to preſerve the advantage which Alexander had juſt before gained, and ſupport the honour of their phalanx, which had always been conſidered as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual jealouſy between the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increaſed their courage, and made the reſiſtance on each ſide very vigorous. On Alexander's ſide Ptolemy, the ſon of Seleucus, loſt his life, with an hundred and twenty more conſiderable officers, who had all behaved with the utmoſt gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who oppoſed it, wheeled to the left againſt thoſe Greeks who were fighting with the reſt of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorouſly; and, attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement the Perſian cavalry, which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had croſſed the river, and ruſhed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons they broke. Upon this the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuoſity of the firſt charge, and oblige the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious number of the enemy. The Perſians

ſeeing

feeing this, were filled with boldnefs and confidence; and thereupon, the greateft part of them advancing, without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purfuing the enemy. Upon this the Theffalians feeing them in fuch confufion, faced about on a fudden, and renewed the fight with frefh ardour. The Perfians made a brave defence, till they faw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx, when they fled in the utmoft diforder.

With regard to Darius, the inftant he faw his left wing broke, he was one of the firft who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horfeback, throwing down his bow, fhield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purfue him, till he faw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and that the Perfian horfe were put to flight; which were of great advantage to the prince that fled.

Syfigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen (who was alfo his fifter) were found remaining in the camp, with two of the king's daughters, his fon, (yet a child) and fome Perfian ladies; for the reft had been carried to Damafcus, with part of Darius's treafure, and all fuch things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thoufand talents

lents were found in his camp; but the reſt of the treaſure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at the taking of the city of Damaſcus.

As for the barbarians, having exerted themſelves with bravery enough in the firſt attack, they afterwards gave way in the moſt ſhameful manner; and being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different ways to effect their ſafety. Some ſtruck into the high road which led directly to Perſia: others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a ſmall number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered. In this battle threeſcore thouſand of the Perſian infantry, and ten thouſand horſemen were ſlain; forty thouſand were taken priſoners; while of Alexander's army there fell but two hundred and fourſcore in all.

The evening after the engagement Alexander invited his chief officers to a feaſt, at which himſelf preſided, notwithſtanding he had been wounded that day in battle. The feſtivity, however, had ſcarce begun, when they were interrupted by ſad lamentations from a neighbouring tent, which at firſt they conſidered as a freſh alarm; but they were ſoon taught that it came from the tent in which the wife and mother of Darius were kept, who were expreſſing their ſorrow for the ſuppoſed death of Darius. An eunuch, who had ſeen his

cloak

cloak in the hands of a ſoldier, imagining he was killed, brought them theſe dreadful tidings. Alexander, however, ſent Leonatus, one of his officers, to undeceive them, and to inform them that the emperor was ſtill alive. The women, little uſed to the appearance of ſtrangers, upon the arrival of the Macedonian ſoldier, imagining he was ſent to put them to death, threw themſelves at his feet, and entreated him to ſpare them a little while. They were ready, they ſaid, to die; and only deſired to bury Darius before they ſhould ſuffer. The ſoldier aſſured them, that he came rather to comfort than afflict them; that the monarch whom they deplored was ſtill living; and he gave Syſigambis his hand to raiſe her from the ground.

The next day, Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the laſt honours to be paid to the dead, in the preſence of the whole army, drawn up in the moſt ſplendid order of battle. He treated the Perſians of diſtinction in the ſame manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever perſons ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies practiſed in her country. After this, he ſent a meſſage to the queens, informing them that he was coming to pay them a viſit; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephœſtion, who made ſo cautious and diſcreet a uſe of the

the liberty granted him, that he ſeemed to take it not ſo much out of inclination, as from a deſire to obey the king, who would have it ſo. They were both of the ſame age, but Hephœſtion was taller, ſo that the queens took him firſt for the king, and paid him their reſpects as ſuch. But ſome captive eunuchs pointing out Alexander, Syſigambis fell proſtrate before him, and intreated pardon for her miſtake; but the king raiſing her from the ground, aſſured her, that his friend alſo was an Alexander; and after comforting her and her attendants, and aſſuring her that no part of the ſtate ſhe had formerly enjoyed ſhould be with-held, he took the ſon of Darius, that was yet but a child, in his arms. The infant, without diſcovering the leaſt terror, ſtretched out his arms to the conqueror, who being affected with its confidence, ſaid to Hephœſtion—Oh! that Darius had ſome ſhare, ſome portion of this infant's generoſity. That he might prevent every ſuſpicion of deſign on the chaſtity of the conſort of Darius, and, at the ſame time, remove every cauſe of fear or anxiety from her mind, he reſolved never to viſit her tent more, although ſhe was one of the moſt engaging women of her time. This moderation, ſo very becoming in a royal conqueror, gave occaſion to that noted obſervation of Plutarch, "That the princeſſes of Perſia lived in an enemy's camp, as if they

they had been in ſome ſacred temple, unſeen, unapproached, and unmoleſted." Syſigambis was diſtinguiſhed by extraordinary marks of Alexander's favour: Darius himſelf could not have treated her with more reſpect than did that generous prince. He allowed her to regulate the funerals of all the Perſians of the royal family, who had fallen in battle; and through her interceſſion he pardoned ſeveral of Darius's nobles, who had juſtly incurred his diſpleaſure. This magnanimous conduct has done more honour to Alexander's character than all his ſplendid conqueſts: the gentleneſs of his manners to the ſuppliant captives, his chaſtity and continence, when he had the power to enforce obedience, were ſetting an example to heroes, which it has been the pride of many ſince to imitate.

After this overthrow, all Phœnicia, the capital city, Tyre only excepted, was yielded to the conqueror, and Parmenio was made governor. Good fortune followed him ſo faſt, that it rewarded him beyond his expectations. Antigonus, his general in Aſia, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted. Ariſtodemus, the Perſian admiral, was overcome at ſea, and a great part of his fleet taken. The city of Damaſcus alſo, in which the treaſures of Darius were depoſited, was given up to Alexander. The governor

vernor of this place, forgetting the duty he owed his ſovereign, informed Alexander by letter, upon a certain day, that he would lead out his ſoldiers laden with ſpoil from the city, as if willing to ſecure a retreat; and theſe with all their wealth might be taken, with a proper body of troops to intercept them. Alexander punctually followed the governor's inſtruction, and thus became poſſeſſed of an immenſe plunder. Beſides money and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immenſe ſums, thirty thouſand men, and ſeven thouſand beaſts laden with baggage, were taken. We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damaſcus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well ſkilled in muſic, and alſo a multitude of officers, whoſe buſineſs it was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to that monarch's entertainment.

In the mean time, Darius having travelled on horſeback the whole night, ſtruck with terror and conſternation, arrived in the morning at Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army: ſtill, however, his pride did not forſake him with his fortune; he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which he rather treated him as an inferior: he commanded, rather than requeſted, that Alexander would take a ranſom for his mother, wife, and children. With regard to the empire, he would

fight

fight with him for it upon equal terms, and bring an equal number of troops into the field. To this Alexander replied, "That he difdained all correfpondence with a man whom he had already overcome; that in cafe he appeared before him in a fupplicating pofture, he would give up his wife and mother without ranfom; that he knew how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered."

Thus coming to no iffue, the king marched from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opening their gates to him. Every one fubmitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleafure than the Sidonians. We have feen in what manner Ochus had deftroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the fword. After he was returned into Perfia, fuch of the citizens as, upon account of their traffic, or for fome other caufe, had been abfent, and by that means had efcaped the maffacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained fo violent a hatred to the Perfians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of throwing off their yoke; and, indeed, they were the firft in that country who fubmitted to the king by their deputies, in oppofition to Strato, their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephœftion to elect in his ftead whomfoever of the

 Sidonians

Sidonians he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation.

This favourite was quartered at the houſe of two brothers, who were young, and of the moſt conſiderable family in the city: to theſe he offered the crown. But they refuſed it; telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no perſon could aſcend the throne unleſs he were of the blood royal. Hephœſtion admiring this greatneſs of ſoul, which could contemn what others ſtrive to obtain by fire and ſword,—"Continue," ſays he to them, "in this way of thinking, you who ſeem "ſenſible that it is much more glorious to refuſe "a diadem than to accept it. However, name "me ſome perſon of the royal family, who may "remember, when he is king, that it was you that "ſet the crown on his head." The brothers obſerving, that ſeveral, through exceſſive ambition, aſpired to this high ſtation, and to obtain it, paid a ſervile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any perſon more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, deſcended, though at a great diſtance, from the royal family; but who, at the ſame time was ſo poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His honeſty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to ſuch extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did

did not hear the claſhing of the arms which had ſhaken all Aſia.

Immediately the two brothers went in ſearch of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding in his garden. When they ſaluted him king, Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream; and, unable to gueſs the meaning of it, aſked if they were not aſhamed to ridicule him in that manner? But as he made a greater reſiſtance than ſuited their inclinations, they themſelves waſhed him, and threw over his ſhoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earneſt, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately ſpread over the whole city. Moſt of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but ſome murmured, eſpecially the rich; who, deſpiſing Abdolonymus's former abject ſtate, could not forbear ſhewing their reſentment upon that account, in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new-elected prince to be ſent for, and after ſurveying him attentively a long time, he ſpoke thus: "Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I ſhould be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didſt bear thy poverty?"—"Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal patience. Theſe hands have procured

me all I defired; and whilft I poffeffed nothing, I wanted nothing." This anfwer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; fo that he prefented him not only with the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Perfian plunder, but likewife annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

Syria and Phœnicia were already fubdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was juftly called the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boafted her having firft invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the winds and waves by the affiftance of a frail bark. The happy fituation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were induftrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to ftrangers; invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe, fo that it might be confidered not fo much a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Alexander thought it neceffary, both for his pride and his intereft to take this city. The fpring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time feated in an ifland of the fea, about a quarter of a league from the continent. It was furrounded with a ftrong wall, an hundred and fifty feet high, which

the waves of the fea wafhed, and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre,) a mighty people, and fovereigns of the ocean, whofe ambaffadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient cuftom, an annual facrifice, had engaged themfelves to fuccour the Tyrians. It was this made them fo haughty: firmly determined not to furrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workhoufes for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city, fo that every part refounded with the noife of warlike preparations. They likewife caft iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as alfo cramp irons, and fuch like inftruments, formed for the defence of cities. So many difficulties oppofing fuch a hazardous defign, and fo many reafons, fhould have made Alexander decline the fiege.

It was impoffible to come near this city in order to ftorm it, without making a bank, which would reach from the continent to the ifland; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were feemingly infurmountable. The little arm of the fea, which feparated the ifland from the continent, was expofed to the weft wind, which often raifed fuch dreadful ftorms there, that the waves would in an inftant fweep away all works. Befides, as the city was furrounded on all fides by

the ſea, there was no fixing ſcaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a diſtance in the ſhips; and the wall, which projected into the ſea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were ſo very tumultuous.

Theſe obſtacles, however, by no means retarded the enterprizing reſolutions of Alexander, but willing to gain a place rather by treaty than by the ſword, he ſent heralds into the place, propoſing a peace between the Tyrians and him. The citizens, however, a tumultuous ungovernable body, inſtead of liſtening to his propoſals, inſtead of endeavouring to avert his reſentment, contrary to the law of nations, killed his heralds, and threw them from the top of the walls into the ſea. This outrage inflamed Alexander's paſſions to the higheſt degree; he reſolved upon the city's deſtruction, and ſat down before it, filled with perſevering reſentment. His firſt endeavour was to form a pier jutting from the continent, and reaching to the city, which was built upon an iſland. From the foundations of an ancient city upon the ſhore, he dug ſtones and rubbiſh; from mount Lebanus, that hung over the city, he cut down cedars that ſerved for piles; and thus he began his work without inter-

interruption. But the farther they went from ſhore, the greater difficulties they met with, becauſe the ſea was deeper, and the workmen were much annoyed by the darts diſcharged from the top of the walls. The enemy alſo, who were maſters at ſea, coming in great boats, prevented the Macedonians from carrying on their work with vigour. At laſt, however, the pile appeared above water, a level of conſiderable breadth: then the beſieged at laſt perceived their raſhneſs; they ſaw, with terror, the vaſtneſs of the work which the ſea had till then kept from their ſight, and now began to attack the workmen with javelins, and wound them at a diſtance. It was therefore reſolved, that ſkins and ſails ſhould be ſpread to cover the workmen, and that two wooden towers ſhould be raiſed at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy. Yet theſe were burned ſoon after, through means of a fire-ſhip ſent in by the beſieged, together with all the wood-work compoſing the pile that could be touched by the fire.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his deſigns defeated, and his works demoliſhed, was not at all dejected upon that account. His ſoldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with ſuch prodigious ſpeed, as quite aſtoniſhed the enemy. Alexander himſelf was preſent on all

occafions, and fuperintended every part of the works. His prefence and great abilities advanced them ftill more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finifhed, and brought almoft to the wall of the city, when there arofe on a fudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with fo much fury againft the mole, that the cement and other things that barred it, gave way, and the water rufhing through the ftones, broke it in the middle. As foon as the great heap of ftones which fupported the earth was thrown down, the whole funk at once, as into an abyfs.

Any warrior but Alexander would that inftant have quite laid afide his enterprize; and, indeed, he himfelf debated whether he fhould not raife the fiege. But a fuperior Power, who had foretold and fworn the ruin of Tyre, and whofe orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the fiege; and, difpelling all his fear and anxiety, infpired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breafts of his whole army with the fame fentiments. Neither Alexander, however, nor his troops, knew from whence that animating Power came. Agreeably to the fuperftitious notions of their times, they imputed the perfeverance and ftrength with which they had been armed, to the kind interpofition of the gods of their country.

Alexander,

Alexander, though a king, a conqueror, a fcholar, and a man of the world, had not been able to overcome the abfurdities which he had imbibed with his religion: in him, however, they were not very palpable. But knowing, from experience, what a fortunate refource he had in the dominion which the augurs had ufurped over the minds of his people, he always endeavoured to fecure an implicit obedience to their dictates. On this occafion, therefore, he added artifice to his own feelings, in order to encourage his foldiers. At one time he gave out, that Apollo was about to abandon the Tyrians to their doom; and that, to prevent his flight, they had bound him to his pedeftal with a golden chain: at another, that Hercules, the tutelar deity at Macedon, had appeared to him, and having opened profpects of the moft flattering fuccefs, had invited him to proceed to take poffeffion of Tyre. Thefe favourable circumftances were announced by the augurs as intimations from above; and every heart was of confequence cheered. The foldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, now forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raife a new mole, at which they worked inceffantly.

In the mean time, Alexander being convinced that while the enemy remained mafters at fea, the city could not be taken, with great diligence procured

cured a fleet from various parts, and embarking himſelf, with ſome ſoldiers from among his guard he ſet ſail towards the Tyrian fleet, forming a line of battle. The Tyrians were at firſt determined to oppoſe him openly; but perceiving the ſuperiority of his forces, they kept all the gallies in their harbour, to prevent the enemy from entering there. Alexander, therefore, was contented to draw up his ſhips near the bank, along the ſhore, where they rode in ſafety and kept the enemy from annoying his workmen, who were employed upon the bank.

The beſiegers, thus protected, went on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the ſea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great ſtones over theſe, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar: afterwards, heaping more trees and ſtones on theſe, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former one, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of ſuch arrows as ſhould be ſhot from thoſe ſhips which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. Thus, after many delays, the patience of the workmen ſurmounting every obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſhed in the utmoſt perfection. The Macedonians placed

 military

military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering-arms, and hurl on the beſieged arrows, ſtones, and burning torches. Thus, by degrees, approaching to the foot of the wall, the Tyrians were attacked in cloſe combat, and inveſted on all ſides, both by ſea and land.

A general attack was now, therefore, thought neceſſary; and the king manning his gallies, which he had joined to each other, ordered them to approach the walls about midnight, and attack the city with reſolution. The Tyrians now gave themſelves over for loſt; when on a ſudden the ſky was overſpread with ſuch thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom; the ſea roſe by inſenſible degrees, and the billows being ſwelled by the fury of the winds, increaſed to a dreadful ſtorm; the veſſels daſhed one againſt the other with ſo much violence, that the cables, which before faſtened them together, were either looſened or broke to pieces; the planks ſplit, and making a horrible claſh, carried off the ſoldiers with them; for the tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible to manage or ſteer the gallies thus faſtened together. At laſt, however, they brought them near the ſhore, but the greateſt part were in a ſhattered condition.

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This good fortune of the Tyrians was counterbalanced by an unexpected calamity; they had long expected ſuccours from Carthage, a flouriſhing colony of their own, but they now received advice from thence, that the Carthaginians were abſolutely unable to give them any aſſiſtance, being overawed themſelves by a powerful army of Syracuſans, who were laying waſte their country. The Tyrians, therefore, fruſtrated in their hopes, ſtill maintained their reſolution of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity; and accordingly ſent off their women and children to Carthage, as being of no uſe in the defence of their city.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all ſides, and as vigorouſly defended. The beſieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts, to defend themſelves and repulſe the enemy. They warded off all the darts diſcharged from the baliſtas againſt them, by the aſſiſtance of turning wheels, which either broke them to peices, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the ſtones that were hurled at them, by ſetting up ſails and curtains, made of a ſoft ſubſtance, which eaſily gave way. To annoy the ſhips which advanced againſt their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and ſcythes to joiſts or beams; then

then ſtraining their catapultas (an enormous kind of croſs-bow), they laid thoſe great pieces of timber upon them, inſtead of arrows, and ſhot them off on a ſudden at the enemy: theſe cruſhed ſome to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks, or penſile ſcythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did conſiderable damage to their ſhips. They alſo had brazen ſhields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling thſe with burning ſand, hurled them in an inſtant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians ſo much dreaded as this laſt invention; for, the moment this burning ſand got to the fleſh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off; ſo that the ſoldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their cloths to pieces, were in this manner expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to the ſhot of the enemy. It was now thought that Alexander, quite diſcouraged with his loſs, was determined to relinquiſh the ſiege; but he reſolved to make the laſt effort, with a great number of ſhips, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly a ſecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king purſued their rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter

enter the harbour, being repulfed by arrows fhot from the walls. However, he either took or funk a great number of their fhips.

Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increafed with the danger; and each fide, animated by the moft powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, inftantly the Argyrafpides mounted the breach with the utmoft valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the braveft officers in the army, who was killed by the thruft of a fpear as he was encouraging his foldiers. The prefence of the king, and efpecially the example he fet, fired his troops with unufual bravery. He himfelf afcended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was expofed to the greateft dangers his courage had ever made him hazard; for being immediately known, by his infignia and the richnefs of his armour, he ferved as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occafion he performed wonders; killing with javelins feveral of thofe who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced fome with his fword, and others with his fhield, either into the city or the fea; the tower on which he fought almoft touching the wall. He foon afcended the wall, by

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the aſſiſtance of floating-bridges; and, followed by the principal officers, poſſeſſed himſelf of two towers, and the ſpace between them. The battering-arms had already made ſeveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and ſome of the Macedonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, ſeeing the enemy maſter of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there ſtood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly. At the ſame time, Tyre being taken on that ſide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, ſparing no perſon who came in their way, being highly exaſperated at the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, and the barbarities they had exercifed towards ſome of their comrades, who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut, in the ſight of the whole army. The Tyrians, thus reduced to the laſt extremity, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, to avoid the ſword of the conqueror; others ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, to ſell their lives as dearly as they could; and ſome threw ſtones from the tops of the houſes to cruſh the ſailors below: the old men waited at their doors, expecting every inſtant

inſtant to be ſacrificed, from the rage of the ſoldiers. In this general carnage, the Sidonian ſoldiers alone, that were in Alexander's army, ſeemed touched with pity for the fate of the wretched inhabitants: they gave protection to many of the Tyrians, whom they conſidered as countrymen, and carried great numbers of them privately on board their ſhips. The numbers that were thus ſlaughtered by the enraged ſoldiers were incredible; even after conqueſt the victor's reſentment did not ſubſide; he ordered no leſs than two thouſand men, that were taken in the ſtorm, to be nailed to croſſes along the ſhore. The number of priſoners amounted to thirty thouſand, and were all ſold as ſlaves in different parts of the world. Thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the moſt flouriſhing city in the world, and had ſpread the arts of commerce into the remoteſt regions.

Whilſt Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre, he received a ſecond letter from Darius, in which that monarch ſeemed more ſenſible of his power than before: he now gave him the title of king, and offered him ten thouſand talents as a ranſom for his captive mother and wife; he offered him his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the river Euphrates: he hinted to him the inconſtancy of

of fortune, and defcribed at large the powers he was ftill poffeffed of to oppofe. Thefe terms were fo confiderable, that when the king debated upon them in council, Parmenio, one of his generals, could not help obferving, That if he were Alexander, he would agree to fuch a propofal; to which Alexander nobly replied, "And fo would I, were I Parmenio:" He therefore treated the propofals of Darius with haughty contempt, and refufed to accept of treafures which he already confidered as his own.

From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerufalem, fully refolved to punifh that city, for having refufed to fupply his army with provifions during the late fiege; but the refentment of the conqueror was averted, by meeting a proceffion of the inhabitants of that city on his way, marching out to receive him, dreffed in white, with *Jaddua*, a Jewifh high-prieft before them, with a mitre on his head, on the front of which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-prieft, he advanced towards him with an air of the moft profound refpect, bowed his body, adored the auguft name upon his front, and faluted him who wore it with religious veneration. Then the Jews furrounding Alexander, raifed their voices to wifh him every kind of profperity: All the fpectators were feized with inexpreffible fur-

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prize; they could ſcarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a ſight ſo contrary to their expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aſtoniſhment, aſked the king how it came to paſs, that he who was adored by every one, adored the high-prieſt of the Jews: "I do not," replied Alexander, "adore the high-prieſt, but the God "whoſe miniſter he is; for whilſt I was at Dium "in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the "great deſign of the Perſian war, as I was re- "volving the methods how to conquer Aſia, this "very man, dreſſed in the ſame robes, appeared "to me in a dream, exhorted me to baniſh my "fear, bade me croſs the Helleſpont boldly, and "aſſured me that God would march at the head "of my army, and give me the victory over that "of the Perſians." This ſpeech, delivered with an air of ſincerity, no doubt had its effect in encouraging the army, and eſtabliſhing an opinion that Alexander's miſſion was from heaven.—Alexander having embraced the high-prieſt, was conducted by him to the temple, where, after he had explained to him many prophecies in different parts of the Old Teſtament, concerning his invaſion, he taught him to offer up a ſacrifice in the Jewiſh manner.

Alexander was ſo much pleaſed with his reception upon this occaſion, that before he left Jeruſalem, he aſſembled the Jews, and bade them aſk any favour they ſhould think proper. Their requeſt was, To be allowed to live according to their ancient laws and maxims; to be exempted from tribute every ſeventh year, as they were by their laws exempted from labour, and could conſequently have no harveſts: they requeſted that ſuch of their brethren as were ſettled in Aſia, ſhould be indulged in the ſame privileges. Thus, being gratified in all their deſires, great numbers of them offered to inliſt themſelves in his army. Soon after, the Samaritans demanded the ſame favours; but he gave them an evaſive anſwer, and promiſed to take the matter into conſideration upon his return.

From this city he went on to Gaza, where he found a more obſtinate reſiſtance than he had expected; but at length taking the town by ſtorm, and having cut the garriſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, to pieces, with brutal ferocity, he ordered Bœtis, the governor, to be brought before him; and having in vain endeavoured to intimidate him, commanded, at laſt, that holes ſhould be bored through his heels, and thus to be tied by cords to the back of his chariot, and in this manner to be dragged round the walls of the city.

This he did in imitation of Achilles, whom Homer defcribes as having dragged Hector round the walls of Troy in the fame manner: but it was reading the poet to very little advantage, to imitate his hero in the moft unworthy part of his character.

As foon as Alexander had ended the fiege of Gaza, he left a garrifon there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In feven days march he arrived before Peluftum, whither a great number of Egyptians had affembled, with all imaginable diligence, to own him for their fovereign, being heartily difpleafed with the Perfian government, as likewife the Perfian governors; as the one deftroyed their liberty, the other ridiculed their religion. Mafæus, the Perfian governor, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpofe for him to refift fo triumphant an army, and that Darius, his fovereign, was not in a condition to fuccour him, threw open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents (about one hundred and forty thoufand pounds), and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander poffeffed himfelf of all Egypt, without meeting with the leaft oppofition.

He now, therefore, formed a defign of vifiting the temple of Jupiter. This temple was fituated at a diftance of twelve days journey from Memphis,

phis, in the midft of the fandy deferts of Lybia. Alexander having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that moft of the heroes were reprefented as the fon of fome deity, was willing himfelf to pafs for a hero, and knew that he could bribe the priefts to compliment him as of celeftial origin. Setting out therefore, along the river Memphis, after having paffed Canopus, oppofite the ifland of Pharos, he there laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which in a little time became one of the moft flourifhing towns for commerce in the world. From thence he had a journey of three hundred and forty miles to the temple of Jupiter; the way leading through inhofpitable deferts, and plains of fand. The foldiers were patient enough for the two firft days march, before they arrived amidft the dreadful folitudes; but as foon as they found themfelves in vaft plains, covered with fands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with a fea, they gazed round as far as their fight could extend, to difcover, if poffible, fome place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive fo much as a fingle tree, nor the leaft appearance of any land that had been cultivated. To increafe their calamity, the water that they had brought in goat-fkins, upon camels, now failed, and there was not fo much as a fingle drop in all

that sandy desert. They were, however, greatly refreshed by the accidental falling of a shower, which served to encourage them in their progress, till they came to the temple of the Deity. Nothing can be more fanciful than the description the historians have given us of this gloomy retreat: it is represented as a small spot of fertile ground, in the midst of vast solitudes of sand; it is covered with the thickest trees, which exclude the rays of the sun, and watered with several springs, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. Near the grove where the temple stood, was the Fountain of the Sun, which at day-break was luke-warm, at noon cold; then towards evening it insensibly grew warmer, and was boiling hot at midnight. The god worshipped in this place, had his statue made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel resembled a ram. No sooner had Alexander appeared before the altar, than the high-priest, who was no stranger to Alexander's wishes, declared him to be the son of Jupiter; the conqueror, quite intoxicated with adulation, asked, Whether he should have success in his expedition; the priest answered, That he should be monarch of the world: the conqueror enquired, If his father's murderers were punished: the priest replied, that his father Jupiter was immortal, but

but that the murderers of Philip had been all extirpated.

Alexander having ended his facrifice, and rewarded the priefts, who had been fo liberal of their titles, from that time fuppofed himfelf, or would have it fuppofed, that he was the fon of Jupiter. Upon his return from the temple, and during his ftay in Egypt, he fettled the Government of that country upon the moft folid foundation: he divided it into diftricts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himfelf alone. And thus having fettled affairs there, he fet out, in the beginning of fpring, to march againft Darius, who was now preparing to oppofe him. He made fome ftay at Tyre, to fettle the various affairs of the countries he had left behind, and then advanced to make new conquefts. On his march Statira, the wife of Darius, died in child-bed, and was honoured with a funeral ceremony, due to her exalted character and ftation. The news of that melancholy event was brought to Darius by Tircus, one of Statira's eunuchs, who had effected his efcape from the Macedonian camp. When the king recollected the captivating charms, the engaging manners, and gentle virtues of his unfortunate queen; and above all, when he confidered that fhe had died in captivity with hardly a friend to foothe her miferies,

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or to close her dying eyes, and that she must be interred without those honours which ought to grace the funeral rites of the consort of the Persian monarch, his mind was overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow. He had begun to give aloose to his feelings, when Tircus said, "Lament not for these things, O king! for neither did Statira, while she yet lived, nor do any of the royal family who are yet captives, experience any diminution of their former splendor, or any species of suffering, except that thy countenance shineth not upon them; with which, however, the great Oromasdes will again bless them. Far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was buried with pomp, and honoured with the tears of her enemies: for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, he knows how to exercise humanity towards the vanquished. The eunuch's words filled the mind of Darius with the most painful apprehensions. Taking him aside, he demanded of the eunuch, in a familiar and friendly tone of voice, "to tell him, as he revered the light of Mithra, and the right hand of his king, whether the death of Statira was not the least misfortune he had to lament; and whether the disgrace of his family and empire would not have been less, had she fallen into the hand of a more barbarous foe? For what, added he, but the tenderest of all connections, could in-

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duce a youthful and triumphant prince ſo to honour the wife of his greateſt enemy!" Tircus, falling upon the ground, beſeeched the king not to entertain a notion, equally unworthy of himſelf, and injurious to the character of Statira and Alexander. Statira's own virtue, he ſaid, was to her a wall of defence. But Darius had another ſource of conſolation: and that was the magnanimity of Alexander; which, he proteſted, appeared more conſpicuous in conquering his paſſions, than in conquering his enemies. Darius, touched with gratitude and joy, is ſaid to have lift up his eyes to heaven, and to have ſpoken thus: "Ye gods, the guardians of our births, and who decree the fate of nations, grant that I may be enabled to leave the Perſian ſtate rich and flouriſhing as I found it, that I may have it in my power to make Alexander a proper return for his generoſity to the deareſt pledges of my affection. But if the duration of this empire is near at an end, and the greatneſs of Perſia about to be forgotten, may none but Alexander be permitted to ſit on the throne of Cyrus." Such ſentiments in a deſpotic prince, muſt give a very favourable idea of the liberality of his mind. Alexander continued his journey towards the Tygris, were he at laſt expected to come up with the enemy, and to ſtrike one blow, which ſhould decide the fate of nations.

Darius

Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice; but finding at laſt that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire to him, prepared himſelf again for battle. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled in Babylon an army half ſo numerous again as that at Iſſus, and marched it towards Nineveh. His forces covered all the plains of Meſopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he cauſed Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe; and likewiſe gave ſix thouſand to Maſæus, governor of the province; all of whom were to prevent Alexander from croſſing the river, and to lay waſte the country though which that monarch was to paſs. But he arrived too late.

The Tygris is the moſt rapid river in the eaſt; and it was with ſome difficulty that Alexander's ſoldiers were able to ſtem the current, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and pointed out with his hand the paſſage to his ſoldiers: he commanded them with a loud voice, To ſave nothing but their arms, and to let their baggage that retarded them in the water, float away with the ſtream. At length they were drawn up in battle array on the oppoſite ſhore, and encamped two days near the river, ſtill prepared for action. An eclipſe of the moon,

moon, which happened about that time; gave Alexander's ſoldiers great uneaſineſs; but he brought forward ſome Egyptian ſoothſayers, who aſſured the army, that the moon portented calamities not to the Greeks, but the Perſians. By this artifice the hopes and the courage of the ſoldiers being revived once more, the king led them on to meet the enemy, and began his march at midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the Gordylean mountains. At break of day, news was brought that Darius was but twenty miles from the place in which they then were. All things now, therefore, threatened an approaching battle; when Darius, who had already twice ſued for peace, ſent new conditions, ſtill more advantageous than the former. But Alexander refuſed his offers; proudly replying, That the world would not admit of two ſuns, nor of two ſovereigns. Thus all negociation being at an end, both ſides prepared for battle, equally irritated, and equally ambitious. Darius pitched his camp near a village called Gangamila, and the river Bumila, in a plain at a conſiderable diſtance from Arbela. He had before levelled the ſpot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move; knowing that his fighting in the ſtraights of Cilicia had loſt him the battle fought there.

Alexander,

Alexander, upon hearing this news continued four days in the place he then was, to reſt his army, and ſurrounded his camp with trenches and palliſadoes; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the uſeleſs ſoldiers in it, and march the remainder againſt the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly he ſet out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander alſo marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could diſcover the enemy's army, he halted; and having aſſembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they ſhould engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, becauſe it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the ſame order in which it marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he aſſembled his general officers a ſecond time, and told them, that there was

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no occaſion for making a ſpeech, becauſe their courage and great actions were alone ſufficient to excite them to glory; and he deſired them only to repreſent to the ſoldiers, that they were not to fight on this occaſion for Phœnicia or Ægypt, but for all Aſia, which would be poſſeſſed by him who ſhould conquer; and that after having gone through ſo many provinces, and left behind them ſo great a number of rivers and mountains, they could ſecure their retreat no otherwiſe than by gaining a complete victory. After this ſpeech he ordered them to take ſome repoſe.

It is ſaid Parmenio adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging, that they might eaſily be defeated, if fallen upon by ſurpriſe, and in the dark; but the king anſwered ſo loud, that all preſent might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad-day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the ſame time, a prudent anſwer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius fearing he ſhould be attacked unawares, becauſe he had not intrenched himſelf, obliged his ſoldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the higheſt prejudice to him in the engagement; for it occaſioned his men to go into action

action fatigued, and worn out with watching. In the mean time Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed in a manner by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprized to find he was not awake; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprized to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle in which his whole fortune lay at stake; "How could it be possible, said Alexander, for me not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into my hands?" Upon this he immediately took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired.

There was a great difference between the two armies in respect to numbers, but much more with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted at least

leaſt of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; and the other of no more than forty thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight thouſand horſe; but the latter was all fire and ſtrength; whereas, on the ſide of the Perſians, it was a prodigious aſſemblage of men, not of ſoldiers; an empty phantom, rather than a real army. Both ſides were diſpoſed in very near the ſame array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nation that compoſed them, and commanded in general by the principal crown officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with ſcythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his poſt in the centre of the firſt line. Beſides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he alſo had fortified himſelf with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his perſon, believing this body only capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army ſpread over a much greater ſpace of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to ſurround, and to charge them at one and the ſame time, both in front and flank, which, from Alexander's diſpoſition, he ſoon after found impoſſible.

Darius

Darius being afraid left the Macedonians ſhould draw him from the ſpot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the enemy's right to march directly forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Upon which Alexander diſpatched againſt them the body of horſe in his ſervice, commanded by Menidas, but as theſe were not able to make head againſt the enemy, becauſe of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. Beſides the advantage of numbers, the Perſians had that alſo of coats of mail, which ſecured themſelves and their horſes much more, and by which Alexander's cavalry was prodigiouſly annoyed. However, the Macedonians marched to the charge with great bravery, and at laſt put the enemy to flight.

Upon this the Perſians oppoſed the chariots armed with ſcythes, againſt the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little ſucceſs. The noiſe which the ſoldiers, who were lightly armed, made by ſtriking their ſwords againſt their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all ſides, frighted the horſes, and made a great number

ber of them turn back againſt their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horſes' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander ſeeing Darius ſet his whole army in motion, in order to charge him, employed a ſtratagem to encourage his ſoldiers. When the battle was at the hotteſt, and the Macedonians were in the greateſt danger, Ariſtander, the ſoothſayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants, as he had been inſtructed by the king; and crying that he ſaw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a ſure omen of victory), he ſhewed with his finger, the pretended bird to the ſoldiers; who, relying upon the ſincerity of the ſoothſayer, fancied they alſo ſaw it, and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulneſs and ardour than ever. Alexander now preſſed to the place in which Darius was ſtationed, and the preſence of the two oppoſing kings inſpired both ſides with vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horſeback; both ſurrounded with their braveſt officers and ſoldiers; whoſe only endeavours were to ſave the lives of their reſpective

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princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Perſians as well as Macedonians imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the moſt diſmal ſounds, the whole army was ſeized with the greateſt conſternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and ſo abandoned the chariot; but thoſe who were at his right took him into the centre of their body. Hiſtorians relate, that this prince, having drawn his ſcimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himſelf, rather than fly in an ignominious manner But perceiving from his chariot, that his ſoldiers ſtill fought, he was aſhamed to forſake them; and as divided between hope and deſpair, the Perſians retired inſenſibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a ſlaughter. Then Darius turning about his chariot, fled with the reſt, and the conqueror was now wholly employed in purſuing him. But in the mean time, finding that the left wing of his army, which was commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger, Alexander was obliged to deſiſt from purſuing Darius, whom he had almoſt overtaken, and wheeled round to attack the Perſian horſe, that, after plundering the camp, were retiring in good order;

them he cut in pieces; and the fcale of battle turning in favour of the Macedonians, a total rout of the Perfians enfued. The purfuit was warm, and the flaughter amazing. Alexander rode as far as Arbela, after Darius, hoping every moment to come up with that monarch: he had juft paffed through when Alexander arrived; but he left his treafure, with his bow and fhield, as a prey to the enemy.

Such was the fuccefs of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arian, the Perfians loft three hundred thoufand men, befides thofe who were taken prifoners; which at leaft is a proof that the lofs was very great on their fide. That of Alexander's was very inconfiderable; he not lofing, according to the laft mentioned author, above twelve hundred men, moft of whom were horfe. This engagement was fought in the month of October, about the fame time that, two years before, the battle of Iffus was fought. As Gangamela, in Affyria, the fpot where the two armies engaged, was a fmall place, of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being neareft to the field of action.

Darius, after this dreadful defeat rode towards the river Lycus, with a very few attendants. He was advifed to break down the bridges, to fecure his retreat, but he refufed; faying, He would not

ſave his life at the expence of thouſands of his ſubjects. After riding a great number of miles full ſpeed, he arrived, at midnight, at Arbela; from thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his ſatraps, and a few of his guards, expecting the worſt, deſpairing of fortune, a wretched ſurvivor of his country's ruin.

In the mean time Alexander approached near Babylon; and Mazæus, the governor, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, ſurrendered it to him without ſtriking a blow. Alexander therefore entered the city, at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient deſire they had to ſee their new ſovereign, whoſe renown had far outſtripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortreſs, and guardian of the treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs zeal than Mazæus, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, and raiſed on both ſides of the way ſilver altars, which ſmoked not only with frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant perfumes of every kind. Laſt of all came the preſents which were to be made to the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horſes; as alſo lions and panthers, which were carried in

cages.

cages. After theſe the Magi walked, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babyloniſh ſoothſayers and muſicians. The rear was brought up by the Babyloniſh cavalry; of which both men and horſes were ſo ſumptuous, that imagination can ſcarce reach their magnificence. The king cauſed the people to walk after the infantry, and himſelf, ſurrounded with his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, entered the city, and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables, which amounted to incredible ſums, and which he diſtributed with generoſity among his ſoldiers. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus; and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus, of Amphipolis.

From Babylon Alexander marched to the province of Cyraceni, afterwards to Suſa, where he arrived after a march of twenty days, and found treaſures to an infinite amount. Theſe alſo he applied to the purpoſes of rewarding merit and courage among his troops. In this city he left the mother and children of Darius; and from thence he went forward till he came to a river, called Paſitigris. Having croſſed it, with nine thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, conſiſting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries,

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and a reinforcement of three thouſand Thracians, he entered the country of Uxii. This region lies near Suſa, and extends to the frontiers of Perſia, a narrow paſs only lying between it and Suſiana. Madathes commanded this province. He was not a time ſerver, nor a follower of fortune; but faithful to his ſovereign, he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; and for this purpoſe had withdrawn into his own city, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy rocks, and was ſurrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the beſieged ſent thirty deputies to Alexander, to ſue for quarter, which they obtained at laſt, by the interpoſition of Syſigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the captives, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral rights and privileges; would not ſuffer the city to be plundered; but let them plough their lands without paying any tribute. From thence he paſſed on to the paſs of Suſa, defended by mountains almoſt inacceſſible, and by Ariobarzanes, with a body of five thouſand men; he there ſtopped for a while; but being led by a different route among the mountains, he came over the paſs, and ſo cut the army that defended it in pieces.

Alexander,

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which conftantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himfelf happily out of the danger to which he was fo lately expofed, marched immediately towards Perfia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Perfepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treafures, with which he was entrufted; and, therefore, that it was neceffary for him to make all the hafte imaginable to feize them himfelf; that he had only the Araxes to crofs, after which the road was fmooth and eafy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much haraffed by the length and fwiftnefs of his march, and paffed the Araxes, on a bridge, which, by his order, had been bnilt fome days before.

But as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable inftance of the greateft mifery. Thefe were about four thoufand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prifoners of war, had fuffered all the torments which the Perfian tyranny could inflict. The hands of fome had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had loft

their nofes and ears. They appeared like fo many fhadows, rather than like men; fpeech being almoft the only thing by which they were known to be fuch. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this fight; and as they irrefiftibly befought him to commiferate their condition, he bade them with the utmoft tendernefs, not to defpond; and affured them that they fhould again fee their wives and country. They chofe however to remain in a place where misfortune now became habitual; wherefore he rewarded them liberally for their fufferings, and commanded the governor of the province to treat them with mildnefs and refpect. The day following he entered the city of Perfepolis, at the head of his victorious foldiers; who, though the inhabitants made no refiftance, began to cut in pieces all thofe who ftill remained in the city. However, the king foon put an end to the maffacre, and forbade his foldiers to commit any further violence. The riches he had found in other places were but trifling, when compared to thofe he found here. This, however, did not fave the city; for being one day at a banquet among his friends, and happening to drink to excefs, the converfation ran upon the various cruelties exercifed by the Perfians in Greece, particularly at Athens. Thais, an Athenian courtezan, urged the pufillanimity of not taking revenge for fuch repeated flaughters.

Thefe

These were her words—words which reflect no honour, either on the senfibility of her sex, or the delicacy of Alexander's manners, who could enjoy the company of such a wretch. "This day," cried she, "has fully repaid all my wanderings and troubles in Asia, by putting it in my power to humble the pride of Persia's insolent kings. To wrap the palace of Persepolis in flames, will be a noble deed; but, how much more glorious would it be to fire the palace of that *Xerxes*, who laid the city of Athens in ruins; and to have it told, in future times, that *a single woman of Alexander's train*, had taken more signal vengeance on the enemies of Greece, than all her former generals had been able to do." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table (his head being crowned with flowers), and, taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward, to execute his mad exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations, and after singing and dancing, surrounded the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry not long after for what he had done, and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire; but it was too late.

While

While Alexander was thus triumphing in all the exultation of fuccefs, the wretched Darius was by this time arrived at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained ftill with this fugitive prince thirty-thoufand foot; among whom were four thoufand Greeks, that were faithful to him to the laft. Befides thefe he had four thoufand flingers, and upwards of three thoufand Bactrian horfe, whom Beffus, their governor, commanded. Darius, even with fo fmall a force, ftill conceived hopes of oppofing his rival, or at leaft of protracting the war; but he was furrounded with traitors; his want of fuccefs had turned all mankind againft him: but Nabarzanes, one of the greateft lords of Perfia, and general of the horfe, had confpired with Beffus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackeft of all crimes; and that was, to feize upon the perfon of the king, and lay him in chains, which they might eafily do, as each of them had a great number of foldiers under his command. Their defign was, if Alexander fhould purfue them, to fecure themfelves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and in cafe they efcaped to murder that prince, and afterwards ufurp his crown, and begin a new war. Thefe traitors foon won over the troops, by reprefenting to them, that they were going to their deftruction; that they would foon be crufhed under the ruins

 of

of an empire which was juſt ready to fall ; at the ſame time, that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immenſe riches. Theſe promiſes ſoon prevailed upon the perfidious army, the Greek mercenaries excepted, who rejected all their propoſals with diſdain. Theſe brave and generous-minded men gave Darius the ſtrongeſt proofs of their fidelity and attachment. Thus betrayed by his generals, and purſued by his enemies, they ſolicited the honour of protecting his perſon ; aſſuring him, they would do ſo, at the expence of the laſt drop of their blood. But his noble ſpirit would not ſuffer him to accept the offer. "If my own ſubjects," ſaid he, "will not grant me protection, how can I ſubmit to receive it from the hands of ſtrangers?" Perhaps he thought, that his avowing his diſtruſt of Beſſus would have haſtened the calamities which he and his accomplices were meditating. His faithful Grecian ſoldiers finding it beyond their power to grant him any relief, threw themſelves upon the mercy of Alexander ; who, in conſideration of their noble ſpirit, forgave them, and employed them in his own ſervice. The traitors ſeized and bound their monarch in chains of gold, under the appearance of honour, as he was a king ; then incloſing him in a covered chariot, they ſet out towards Bactriana. In this manner they carried him,

him, with the utmoſt diſpatch; until being informed that the Grecian army was ſtill hotly purſuing them, they found it impoſſible either to conciliate the friendſhip of Alexander, or to ſecure a throne for themſelves; they therefore once more gave Darius his liberty, and deſired him to make the beſt of his eſcape with them from the conqueror; but he replied, That the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had already ſuffered; and, appealing to Alexander for juſtice, refuſed to follow a band of traitors. At theſe words they fell into the utmoſt fury, thruſting him with their darts and their ſpears, and left him to linger in this manner, unattended, the remains of his wretched life. The traitors then made their eſcape different ways; while the victorious Macedonians, at length coming up, found Darius in a ſolitude, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had ſtrength enough before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polyſtratus by name, brought him. The generoſity of the unfortunate monarch ſhone forth, on this melancholy occaſion, in the addreſs he made to this ſtranger. "Now, indeed," ſaid he, "I ſuffer the extremity of miſery, ſince it is not in my power to reward thee for this act of humanity." He had a Perſian priſoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had

had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and ſaid, That in the deplorable ſtate to which he was reduced, he however ſhould have the comfort to ſpeak to one who could underſtand him, and that his laſt words would not be loſt. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, That he had died in his debt; that he gave him many thanks for the great humanity he had exerciſed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whoſe lives he had not only ſpared, but reſtored to their former ſplendor; that he beſought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the univerſe; that he thought he need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his perſon, as this was the common cauſe of kings.

After this, taking Polyſtratus by the hand.—"Give him," ſaid he, "thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affections." Saying theſe words, he breathed his laſt.

Alexander coming up a moment after, and ſeeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of affection that could be given, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappineſs of a prince who deſerved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then cauſing it to be

be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, he ſent it to Syſigambis, to be interred with the honours uſually paid to the deceaſed Perſian monarchs, and entombed with his anceſtors. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age, ſix of which he reigned with felicity. In him the Perſian empire ended, after having exiſted from the time of Cyrus the Great, a period of two hundred and ninety-nine years.

The traitor, Beſſus, did not eſcape the fate due to his crime. Alexander purſued him, to avenge on the murderer the death of his royal maſter; for he did not conſider Darius ſo much in the capacity of an enemy, as Beſſus in that of a friend to the perſon he had baſely ſlain. After wandering, in anxiety and horror, from province to province, he was delivered by the aſſociates of his guilt into the hands of Alexander, by whom he was put to a cruel death.

The death of Darius only ſerved to inflame the ſpirit of ambition in Alexander to purſue further conqueſts. After having in vain attempted to purſue Beſſus, who now aſſumed the name of king, he deſiſted, in order to croſs Partia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which ſubmitted to his arms. He afterwards ſubdued the Mandii, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachoſii, and ſeveral other nations, into which his army marched

marched with greater ſpeed than people generally travel. He frequently would purſue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almoſt without ſuffering his troops to take any reſt. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diſtance, and ſubdued them before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

It was upon one of theſe excurſions that Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, came to pay him a viſit. A violent deſire of ſeeing Alexander had prompted that princeſs to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curioſity. Being come pretty near his camp, ſhe ſent word, That a queen was come to viſit him; and that ſhe had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little diſtance from that place. Alexander having returned a favourable anſwer, ſhe commanded her train to ſtop, and herſelf came forward, with three hundred women; and the moment ſhe perceived the king, ſhe leaped from her horſe, having two lances in her right hand. She looked upon the king without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of admiration, and ſurveying him attentively, did not think his ſtature anſwerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much ſtruck with a majeſtic air, and think thoſe only capable

capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature has beſtowed bodily advantages. She did not ſcruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have poſterity by him; adding, that ſhe was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this requeſt, was obliged to make ſome ſtay in this place; after which Thaleſtris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians.

Alexander, now enjoying a little repoſe, abandoned himſelf to ſenſuality; and he whom the arms of the Perſians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be ſeen but games, parties of pleaſures, women and exceſſive feaſting, in which he uſed to revel whole days and nights. Not ſatisfied with the buffoons and the performers on inſtrumental muſic, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to ſing ſongs, after the manner of their country. He happened, among theſe women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the reſt; and who, by a modeſt, and at the ſame time a noble confuſion, diſcovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her baſhfulneſs; whilſt ſhe threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power

to

to conceal her face. The king ſoon imagined, by her air and mien, that ſhe was not of vulgar birth, and enquiring himſelf into it, the lady anſwered, That ſhe was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre, and daughter of his ſon; that ſhe had married Hyſtaſpes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compaſſion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princeſs of the blood-royal, and the ſad condition to which ſhe was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her poſſeſſions; and cauſed her huſband to be ſought for, in order that ſhe might be reſtored to him.

But now the veteran ſoldiers who had fought under Philip, not having the leaſt idea of ſenſuality, inveighed publicly againſt the prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices, which the army had learnt in Suſa and Ecbatana. The king therefore thought that the ſafeſt remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpoſe led them againſt Beſſus. But as the army was incumbered with booty and an uſeleſs train of baggage, ſo that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own baggage to be carried into a great ſquare, and afterwards that of his army (ſuch things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary;) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large

 plain.

plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had ſent away the horſes, he himſelf ſet fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example.

Hitherto we have ſeen Alexander triumphing by a courſe of virtue, we are now to behold him ſwollen up by ſucceſs, ſpoiled by flattery and enervated by vices, exhibiting a very doubtful character, and mixing the tyrant with the hero. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him by one Dymnus; this was communicated by a Macedonian ſoldier to Philotas, one of Alexander's favourites. Philotas neglected divulging it to his maſter; and thus became ſuſpected himſelf as being concerned in the conſpiracy. Parmenio alſo, the father of this young favourite, became equally obnoxious; and as the ſuſpicion of tyrants is equally fatal with a conviction, Alexander doomed both to deſtruction.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been poſted in the ſeveral places neceſſary, ſome entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep ſleep; when ſtarting from his ſlumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, Alas! my ſovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodneſs. After this they covered his face and brought him to the palace without uttering a ſingle word.

His

His hands were tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarſe worn-out piece of cloth. Loſt to himſelf he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the ſtanders-by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his ſpeech and his voice by inſenſible degrees, he ſeemed deſirous of ſpeaking.

The reſult of this interview was, that Philotas ſhould be put to the rack. The perſons who preſided on that occaſion, were his moſt inveterate enemies, and they made him ſuffer every kind of torture. Philotas at firſt diſcovered the utmoſt reſolution and ſtrength of mind; the torments he ſuffered not being able to force from him a ſingle word, nor even ſo much as a ſigh. But at laſt, conquered by pain, he acknowledged himſelf to be guilty, named ſeveral accomplices, and, as his tormentors would have it, accuſed his own father. The next day the anſwers of Philotas were read in full aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole he was unanimouſly ſentenced to die; immediately after which he was ſtoned according to the cuſtom of Macedonia, with ſome other of the conſpirators.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it was that Alexander

really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father, now he had put the ſon to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to ſee the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's moſt intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who ſtudy only their own fortunes. This was the very reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch orders againſt Parmenio. He therefore ſet out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entruſted with the king's treaſure, which amounted to an hundred and fourſcore thouſand talents, about twenty-ſeven millions ſterling. Alexander had given him ſeveral letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province, and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other ſealed with Philotas's ſeal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicion. Polydamus was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions neceſſary, they went together with a great number of attendants to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus ſpied him, though at a great diſtance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmoſt

joy;

joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the ſtrongeſt indications of friendſhip, had paſſed on both ſides, he gave him Alexander's letter, which opening, and afterwards that under the name of Philotas, he ſeemed pleaſed with the contents. At that very inſtant Cleander thruſt a dagger into his ſide, then made another thruſt in his throat; and the reſt gave him ſeveral wounds, even after he was dead. He was at the time of his death threeſcore and ten years of age, and had ſerved his maſter with a fidelity and zeal, which in the end was thus rewarded.

In the three great battles which made Alexander maſter of Perſia, Parmenio had the honour of commanding the left wing. Alexander had felt the good effects both of his military ſkill, and of his zeal for his welfare and ſucceſs; he therefore reſpected him, and all his ſoldiers revered and loved him. Philotas, whom we have found even forced to become the accuſer of his innocent father, and cruelly put to death, was the laſt of three brothers. The other two had been bred to arms; they were both men of valour, and had fallen in ſupporting the mad ambition of their father's murderer.

In order to prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from the contemplation of theſe cruelties, Alexander ſet out upon his march, and continued to purſue Beſſus, upon which occaſion he

 expoſed

expofed himfelf to great hardfhips and dangers. Beffus, however, was treated by his followers in the fame manner he had treated the king his mafter: Spitamenes, his chief confidant, having formed a confpiracy againft him, feized his perfon, put him in chains, forced the royal robes from his back; and with a chain round his neck, he was delivered up in the moft ignominious manner to Alexander. The king caufed this man to be treated with his ufual cruelty; after reproaching him for his treachery, and caufing his nofe and ears to be cut off, he fent him to Ecbatana, there to fuffer whatever punifhment Darius's mother fhould think proper to inflict upon him. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other, and to each of thefe trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was faftened. Afterwards, thefe trees being let return to their natural pofition, they flew back with fo much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and fo quartered him.

Thus uniting in his perfon at once great cruelty and great enterprize, Alexander ftill marched forward in fearch of new nations whom he might fubdue. A city inhabited by the Branchid he totally overturned, and maffacred all the inhabitants in cool blood, only for being defcended from fome traitorous Greeks, that had delivered up the treafures of a temple with which they had been

entrufted.

entrusted. He then advanced to the river Jaxerthes, where he received a wound in the leg. From thence he went forward, and took the capital of Sogdiana; at which place he received an embassy from the Scythians, who lived free and independent, but now submitted to him. It is supposed, however, by some, that this was only the submission of some bordering tribes: for it appears, from the united testimony of Arrian and Q. Curtius, that the renowned discipline and courage of the Macedonian army, had so small an effect on the untractable but free spirits of the Scythians, that Alexander was forced to retire, covered with disgrace, and to turn his arms on a foe less capable of resistance. Curtius says, that the Macedonians sustained such a loss in one particular battle, that death was the consequence of making the least mention of the event of that battle. If we consider the abrupt manner in which those barbarians attacked, the rapidity with which they retreated, and that they were in their own country, and surrounded by forests impenetrable to all but to themselves, we shall not find it difficult to credit what historians have said.

Alexander then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whom it was called; and taking the place, he abandoned

it to plunder. In this manner he went on, capriciously destroying some towns and building others, settling colonies in some places, and laying whole provinces waste at his pleasure. Among his other projects, an invasion of the kingdom of Scythia was one; but the crossing of the river Jaxerthes was by no means an easy task; however, Alexander being always foremost in encountering dangers, led on his troops across the stream, which was very rapid, and gained a signal victory over the Scythians, who vainly attempted to oppose him on the other side.

A strong hold, called Petra Oxiani, defended by a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers, with ammunition and provision for two years, was still considered as impregnable. However, as difficulties only seemed to excite his ambition, his soldiers scaled the cliff; and the barbarians, supposing that the whole Macedonian army was got over their heads, surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared; but Alexander, forgetting the faith of treaty, and the humanity which became a soldier on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses at the foot of the same rock.

After this, having subdued the Massagetæ and Dahæ, he entered the province of Barsaria, from thence he advanced to Maracander, and appointed

Clitus

Clitus governor of that province. This was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and ſignalized himſelf on many occaſions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bareheaded, and Raſaces had his arm raiſed, in order to ſtrike him behind, Clitus covered the king with his ſhield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his ſiſter, had nurſed Alexander, and he loved her with as much tenderneſs as if ſhe had been his own mother.

This favour, however, only advanced Clitus to a poſt of greater danger. One evening, at an entertainment, the king, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; his boaſting even ſhocked thoſe very perſons who knew that he ſpoke truth, but particularly the old generals of his army, whoſe admirations were engroſſed, in ſome meaſure, by the actions of his father. Clitus was intoxicated, and turning about to thoſe who ſat below him at table, quoted to them a paſſage from Euripides, but in ſuch a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words diſtinctly. The ſenſe of the paſſage was, That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inſcriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only ſhould be mentioned; becauſe, by theſe means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchaſed with their blood. The king,

ſuſpect-

ſuſpecting Clitus had let drop ſome diſobliging expreſſions, aſked thoſe who ſat neareſt him what he had ſaid. As no one anſwered, Clitus, raiſing his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great diſpute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiouſly vexed in his mind, he nevertheleſs ſtifled his reſentment, and ſeemed to liſten very patiently to all Clitus ſpoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite ſuppreſſed his paſſion, had Clitus ſtopped there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as if determined to exaſperate and inſult the king, he went ſuch lengths as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of Thebes was but trifling, in compariſon of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill ſucceſs, he was pleading his own cauſe; Clitus riſes up, with his eyes ſparkling with wine and anger.—" It is, nevertheleſs, this hand (ſaid he to him, extending it at the ſame time) that ſaved your life, at the battle of Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of theſe very Macedonians,

nians, who are accufed of cowardice, that raifed you to this grandeur; but the tragical end of Parmenio fhews what rewards they and myfelf may expect for all our fervices." This laft reproach ftung Alexander: however, he ftill reftrained his paffion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is in the right (fays Clitus, as he rofe up) not to bear free-born men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pafs his life among barbarians and flaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Perfian girdle and his white robe." But now the king, no longer able to fupprefs his rage, fnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the fpot, had not the courtiers with-held his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, finging, with an air of infolence, verfes reflecting highly on the prince, who feeing the general near him, ftruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the fame time—"Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king had no fooner murdered his faithful fervant, than he perceived the atrocioufnefs of the act: he threw himfelf upon the dead body, forced out the javelin, and would have deftroyed himfelf, had he not been prevented by his guards, who feized

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S

ſeized and carried him forcibly to his own apartment, where the flattery and the perſuaſion of his friends, at length, ſerved to alleviate his remorſe. In order to diverte his melancholy, Alexander having drawn his army out of the garriſons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabana. In his way he met with a dreadful ſtorm, in which his army ſuffered greatly: from thence he went into the country of Sacæ, which he ſoon over-run, and laid waſte. Soon after this Axertes, one of its monarchs, received him in his palace, which was adorned with barbarous magnificence. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whoſe exquiſite beauty was heightened by the charms of wit and good ſenſe. Alexander found her charms irreſiſtible, and made her his wife; covering his paſſion with the ſpecious pretence of uniting the two nations in ſuch bonds as ſhould improve their mutual harmony, by blending their intereſts, and throwing down all diſtinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage diſpleaſed the Macedonians very much, and exaſperated his chief courtiers, when it was ſeen that he made one of his ſlaves his father-in-law. But as, after murdering Clitus, no one dared to ſpeak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes

and

and countenances, for they had nothing elſe left that was free.

Alexander having thus conquered all the Perſian provinces, now, with boundleſs ambition, reſolved upon a perilous march into India. This country was conſidered as the richeſt in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious ſtones, with which the inhabitants adorned themſelves; but being willing either to impreſs his ſoldiers with an idea of his authority, or to imitate the barbarians in the magnificence of their titles, he was reſolved not only to be called, but to be believed, the ſon of Jupiter; as if it had been poſſible for him to command as abſolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condeſcend to fall proſtrate and adore him, after the Perſian manner.

To ſoothe and cheriſh theſe ridiculous pretenſions, there were not wanting flatterers, thoſe common peſts of a court, who are more dangerous to princes than the arrows of their enemies. But the Macedonians, indeed, would not ſtoop to this baſe adulation; all of them, to a man, refuſing to vary in any manner from the cuſtoms of their country. Among the number who diſdained to offer theſe baſe adulations, was Calliſthenes, the philoſopher; but his integrity coſt him his life: he was accuſed of being privy to a conſpiracy formed

formed by Hermolaus, a young officer, upon the life of the king, and for this reafon he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He foon found that he had no mercy to expect; the moft grievous tortures were inflicted upon him, in order to extort a confeffion of guilt; but he perfifted in his innocence to the laft, and expired in the midft of his torments.

The kingdom of India, for which Alexander now fet out, was an extenfive territory, which has been ufually divided into two parts, India on this fide, and India on the other fide of the Ganges. All the Indians at that time were free, nor did they even adopt the bafe cuftom of the Greeks, in purchafing flaves to do the common offices of life. The people of that country were then divided into feven claffes: the firft and moft honourable, though the fmalleft, were the guardians of religion; the fecond and the greateft, was that of the hufbandman, whofe only employment was to cultivate the ground; the third was that of herdfmen and fhepherds, who led the herds and flocks among and mountains; the fourth confifted of tradefmen and merchants, among whom pilots and feamen were included; the fifth was of foldiers, whofe only employment was war; the fixth was of magiftrates, who fuperintended the actions of others, either in cities or in the country, and reported the

the whole to the king; the feventh clafs confifted of perfons employed in the public councils, and who fhared the cares of government with their fovereign. Thefe orders of ftate never blended nor intermarried with each other; none of them were permitted to follow two profeffions at the fame time, nor quit one clafs for another.

Alexander, having entered India, all the petty kings of the country came to meet him, and make their fubmiffions. On his march he took the city of Nyfa: he then marched towards Dædala, and difperfed his army over the whole country, and took poffeffion of it without refiftance. He afterwards went forward towards the city of Hagofa, which, after being befieged in form, furrendered at difcretion. He next attacked the rock of Aornos, which was deemed inacceffible, and which it was faid Hercules himfelf was not able to take; but the garrifon, ftruck with the vaftnefs of his warlike preparations, in a panic delivered it up to his army. He was faid to have been very much elated with his fuccefs in reducing this fortrefs, which had bid defiance to the might of the great founder of his race. From thence he marched to Aclefimus; and, after a march of fixteen days, arrived on the banks of the great river Indus, where he found that Hœpheftion had got all things ready for his paffage, purfuant to the orders he had before received.

received. Here he was met by Omphis, a king of the country, who did homage to Alexander, and made him a prefent of fifty-fix elephants, and other animals of prodigious fize. The ambaffadors from Abifaries, a neighbouring monarch, came with the fame offers, fent prefents, and promifed fidelity. There was ftill a third monarch, whofe name was Porus, from whom Alexander expected fimilar fubmiffion; he even went to require it of him; but Porus anfwered, with great coldnefs, that while he could fight, he fhould difdain to obey.

In purfuance of this meffage Alexander refolved to enforce obedience; and giving the fuperintendence of the elephants to Omphis, who had now changed his name to Taxilus, he advanced as far as the borders of the Hydafpes. Porus was encamped on the other fide of it, in order to difpute the paffage with him, and had pofted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious fize and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thoufand foot, not having, at moft, above feven thoufand horfe. This prince was mounted upon an elephant of a much larger fize than any of the reft, and he himfelf exceeded the ufual ftature of men: fo that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and filver, he appeared at the fame time terrible and majeftic. The greatnefs

nefs of his courage equalled that of his ftature; and he was as wife and prudent as it was poffible for the monarch of fo barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pafs. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and fo deep in every part, that it looked like a fea, and was no where fordable. It was vaftly impetuous, notwithftanding its great breadth, for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, difcovered that it was full of ftones and rocks. However, nothing was fo dreadful as the appearance of the fhore, which was quite covered with men, horfes, and elephants. Thofe hideous animals ftood like fo many towers; and the Indians exafperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with great terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men whofe courage was proof againft all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted feries of profperities; but then they did not think it would be poffible for them, as the banks were fo crowded, to furmount the rapidity of the ftream, or land with fafety.

Alexander was in great perplexity with the difficulties that attended the paffage of this narrow

river; however, he refolved to attempt it by night, and chofe one whofe lightning, thunder, and impetuous winds, confpired to drown the noife of his troops in their embarkation. He did not, however, venture to crofs with them in the very face of the enemy; but led them a few miles higher up the river, where the jutting out of a rock favoured his defign. In this fituation fcarce any perfon appeared to oppofe their defcent; and the moment Alexander was landed, he drew up the forces that had paffed with him, confifting of fix thoufand foot, and five thoufand horfe, in order of battle.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had paffed the river, had fent againft him a detachment, commanded by one of his fons, of two thoufand horfe, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at firft to be the enemy's vanguard, and that the whole army was behind them; but being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with fuch vigour, that Porus's fon was killed on the fpot, with four hundred horfes, and all the chariots were taken.

Porus upon receiving advice of the death of his fon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, refolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he juftly fuppofed to be at the head of the choiceft troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving

leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, he ſet out with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three thouſand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, ſandy ſoil, in which his horſes and chariots might wheel about with eaſe, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He poſted in front, and on the firſt line, all the elephants, at a hundred feet diſtance one from the other, in order that they might ſerve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe intervals, becauſe of the fear thoſe horſes would have of the elephants; and much leſs the infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the enemy poſted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces. He had poſted ſome of his foot on the ſame line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horſe, before which the chariots were poſted. Such was the order and diſpoſition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in ſight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led ſo much fatigued

as they were againſt the enemy, he cauſed his horſe to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having ſufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the ſignal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were poſted, for the very reaſon which had made Porus draw them up in that manner. But his cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt part of them, and marching againſt the left wing, ſent Cœnus with his own regiment of horſe, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the ſame time, ordering him to attack their cavalry on the left behind, during which he himſelf would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to ſtir from their poſts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diſorder.

Being come within arrow-ſhot, he detached a thouſand bow-men on horſeback, with orders for them to make their diſcharge on the horſe of Porus's left wing: in order to throw it into diſorder, whilſt he himſelf would charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians having joined again their ſquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compaſs, advanced againſt Alexander.

ander. At that inſtant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; inſomuch, that the Indians were obliged to face about on all ſides, to defend themſelves from the thouſand bow-men, and againſt Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the beſt advantage of the confuſion into which this ſudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour thoſe that had made head againſt him; who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an attack, were ſoon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance againſt the enemy's horſe; but that very inſtant the Macedonian phalanx moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themſelves, and their leaders. This battle was very different from all thoſe which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants ruſhing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible fury, the thickeſt of them; when the Indian horſe, ſeeing the Macedonian foot ſtopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being ſtronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a ſecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horſe, being all united in one body, ſpread terror and confuſion wherever they attacked. The elephants

 being

being all covered with wounds, and the greateſt part having loſt their leaders, did not obſerve their uſual order; but diſtracted as it were with pain, no longer diſtinguiſhed friends from foes; but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purpoſely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them whenever they came forward, or charged with darts, thoſe that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having ſurrounded the enemy with his horſe, made a ſignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable ſpeed, in order to make a laſt effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force; all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this manner the greateſt part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which ſuſtained no leſs loſs, ſeeing themſelves charged on all ſides, at laſt fled. Catorus, who had continued in the camp with the reſt of his army, ſeeing Alexander engaged with Porus, croſſed the river, and charging the routed ſoldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians loſt, on this occaſion, twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; not to mention the chariots, which were all broke to pieces, and

and the elephants, that were either killed or taken. Porus's two ſons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province, all the colonels of horſe and foot, and thoſe who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loſt but fourſcore of the ſix thouſand ſoldiers who were at the firſt charge, ten bow-men of the horſe, twenty of his horſe-guards, and two hundred common ſoldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a ſoldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, ſeeing all his horſe defeated, and the greateſt part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, in a like diſaſter, was the firſt that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or ſquadron ſtood their ground; but at laſt, having received a wound in the ſhoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the greatneſs of his ſtature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander finding who he was by thoſe glorious marks, and being deſirous of ſaving this king, ſent Taxilus after him, becauſe he was of the ſame nation. The latter, advancing as near to him as he might without any danger of being wounded, called to him to ſtop, in order to hear the meſſage he had brought from Alexander. Porus turning back, and ſeeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How! ſays he,

is it not Taxilus that calls; that traitor to his country and kingdom!" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not inftantly retired. Notwithftanding this Alexander was ftill defirous to fave fo brave a prince; and thereupon difpatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who befought him, in the ftrongeft terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him; after much entreaty, Porus confented, and accordingly fet forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards, in order to receive him, with fome of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander ftopped, purpofely to take a view of his ftature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height. Porus did not feem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a refolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whofe courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the efteem of the brave prince who had taken him prifoner. Alexander fpoke firft; and, with an auguft and gracious air, afked him how he defired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But, continued Alexander, do you afk nothing more?" "No, replied Porus, all things are included in that fingle word." Alexander, ftruck with this greatnefs of foul, the magnanimity of which feemed heightened by diftrefs, did not only

only reftore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the higheft teftimonies of honour, efteem, and friendfhip.— Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to fay whether the victor or the vanquifhed beft deferved praife on this occafion.

Alexander built a city on the fpot where the battle had been fought; and another in that place where he had croffed the river. He called the one Nicæa, from his victory: and the other Bucephalus, in honour of his horfe, who died there, not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the laft duties to fuch of his foldiers as had loft their lives in battle, he folemnized games, and offered up facrifices of thanks in the place where he had paffed the Hydafpes.

Alexander having now conquered Porus, advanced into India; which, having never been a warlike nation, he fubdued with the rapidity rather of a traveller than a conqueror. Numberlefs petty ftates fubmitted to him, fenfible that his ftay would be fhort, and his conquefts evanefcent.

Alexander, paffing near a city where feveral Brachmans, or Indian priefts dwelt, was very defirous to converfe with them, and if poffible to prevail with fome of them to follow him. Being informed that thefe philofophers never made vifits, but that thofe who had an inclination to fee them muft

muſt go to their houſes, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not juſt to force theſe ſages to any thing contrary to their laws and uſages. Oneſicritus, the philoſopher, who had been a diſciple of Diogenes, the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met not far from the city fifteen Brachmans, who, from morning ill evening, ſtood always naked in the ſame poſture in which they at firſt had placed themſelves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addreſſed himſelf firſt to Calanus, an Indian, reputed the wiſeſt man of his country, who, though he profeſſed the practice of the moſt ſevere philoſophy. had, however, been perſuaded in his extreme old age to attend upon the court, and to him he told the occaſion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Oneſicritus's clothes and ſhoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him,—That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with duſt; that beſides water, the rivers uſed to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine; that man's guilt had occaſioned a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to puniſh their ingratitude, had ſentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compaſſion, he had reſtored them their former abundance; however, that by the courſe of things they ſeemed to

be returning to their ancient confuſion.—This relation ſhews evidently, that theſe philoſophers had ſome notion of the felicity of the firſt man, and of the evil to which he had been ſentenced for his ſins.

Oneſicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their auſtere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, ſaying—"That they would find in him a generous maſter and benefactor, who would heap upon them honour and riches of all kinds." Then Mandanis, aſſuming a haughty philoſophical tone, anſwered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the ſon of Jupiter as well as himſelf; that he was exempted from want, deſire, or fear: that ſo long as he ſhould live, the earth would furniſh him with all things neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, and that death would rid him of a troubleſome companion (meaning his body) and ſet him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition, and even the prohibition of his ſuperior, who reproached him for his abject ſpirit, in ſtooping ſo low as to ſerve another maſter beſides God, he followed Oneſicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonſtrations of joy. As it was Alexander's chief ambition to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in their expeditions into the Eaſt, he reſolved like them, to penetrate

as long as he could find new nations to conquer. However, his ſoldiers, ſatiated with ſpoil, and fatigued with repeated encounters, at laſt began to open their eyes to the wildneſs of his ambition. Some bewailed their calamities in ſuch terms as raiſed compaſſion; others inſolently cried out, "That they would march no further." The chief object of the king's wiſhes, was to invade the territories of Agramenes, a prince who lived beyond the great river Ganges, and who was able to bring into the field two hundred thouſand foot, two thouſand elephants, twenty thouſand horſe, and two thouſand armed chariots. The ſoldiers, however, refuſed to wander over thoſe great deſerts that lay beyond the Ganges, and more terrible to them than the greateſt army the Eaſt could muſter. He addreſſed them in the moſt perſuaſive terms not to leave their general behind: he threatened them that he would take his Scythian and his Perſian ſoldiers, and with them alone make conqueſts worthy of his name and of his glory; but ſtill the Macedonian ſoldiers perſiſted, ſullen and inflexible, and at laſt complied, after many perſuaſive orations, only to follow him towards the South, to diſcover the neareſt ocean, and to take the courſe of the river Indus as their infallible guide.

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For this expedition he embarked in a fleet confifting of eight hundred veffels, as well gallies as boats, which carried the troops and provifions. After five days failing, the fleet arrived where the Hydafpes and the Acefines mixed their ftreams. There the fhips were very much fhattered, becaufe thefe rivers unite with prodigious rapidity. At laft he came to the country of the Oxydraci and the Mallis, the moft valiant people in the Eaft: however, Alexander defeated them in feveral engagements, difpoffeffed them of their ftrong holds, and at laft marched againft their capital city, where the greateft part of their forces were retired. It was upon this occafion that, feizing a fcaling ladder, himfelf firft mounted the wall, followed only by two of his officers: his attendants believing him to be in danger, mounted fwiftly to fuccour him, but the ladder breaking, he was left alone. It was now that his rafhnefs became his fofety; for leaping from the wall into the city, which was crowded with enemies, fword in hand, he repulfed fuch as were neareft, and even killed the general, who advanced in the throng. Thus with his back to a tree that happened to be near, he received all the darts of the enemy in a fhield, and kept even the boldeft at a diftance. At laft, an Indian difcharging an arrow of three feet long, it pierced his coat of mail and his right breaft, and

and ſo great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. The Indian came to ſtrip him, ſuppoſing him really what he appeared; but Alexander that inſtant recalled his ſpirits, and plunged a dagger in his ſide. By this time a part of the king's attendants came to his ſuccour, and forming themſelves round his body, till his ſoldiers without found means of burſting the gates, ſaved him, and put all the inhabitants without diſtinction to the ſword.

The wound, which at firſt ſeemed dangerous, having in the ſpace of ſix or ſeven days a moſt favourable appearance, Alexander mounted his horſe, and ſhewed himſelf to the army, who ſeemed to view him with inſatiable pleaſure. Thus continuing his voyage, and ſubduing the country on each ſide as he paſſed along, the pilots perceived from the ſwell of the river that the ſea could not be far diſtant; and they informed the king that they already felt the breezes of the ocean. Nothing ſo much aſtoniſhed the Macedonian ſoldiers as the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Accuſtomed to the gentle floods of the Mediterranean, they were amazed when they ſaw the Indus riſe to a great height, and overflow the country, which they conſidered as a mark of divine reſentment; they were no leſs terrified ſome hours after, when they ſaw the river forſake its banks;

and

and leave thofe lands uncovered which it had fo lately overflowed. Thus, after a voyage of nine months, he at laft ftood upon the fhore; and after having offered facrifices to Neptune, and having looked wifhfully on the broad expanfe of waters before him, he is faid to have wept for having no more worlds left to conquer. Here he put an end to his excurfions: and having appointed Nearchus admiral of his fleet, with orders to coaft along the Indian fhore as far as the Perfian gulph, he fet out with his army for Babylon.

Nothing could exceed the hardfhips which his army fuftained in their return: paffing through a country deftitute of all forts of provifions, they were obliged to feaft on the beafts of burden, and were forced to burn thofe rich fpoils, for the fake of which they had encountered fo many dangers; thofe difeafes alfo that generally accompany famine, completed their calamity, and deftroyed them in great numbers. The king's fortitude appeared to great advantage on this trying occafion. The army being in abfolute want of water, fome foldiers were fent to endeavour to find out a fpring. They fortunately fell upon one; but it yielded them but a very fmall quantity of water. With what they had got, the foldiers returned rejoicing to the king, who, inftead of drinking it, poured it upon the ground; unwilling that his foldiers fhould fuftain

ſuſtain a calamity in which he refuſed to bear a part. This generous act inſpired the ſoldiery with freſh ſpirits. After a march of threeſcore days, they arrived in the province of Gedroſia, the fertility of which ſoon baniſhed from the minds of the ſoldiery all their former difficulties. Alexander paſſed through the country not with the military pomp of a conqueror, but in the licentious diſguiſe of an enthuſiaſt: ſtill willing to imitate Bacchus, he was drawn by eight horſes, on a ſcaffold in the form of a ſquare ſtage, where he paſſed the days and nights in feaſting. Along the roads where he paſſed were placed caſks of wine in great abundance and theſe the ſoldiery drained in honour of their mock deity. The whole country echoed with the ſound of inſtruments and the howling of bacchanals, who, with their hair diſhevelled, with frantic mirth, ran up and down, abandoning themſelves to every kind of lewdneſs. This vice produced one of a much more formidable nature in the king's mind; for it always enflamed his paſſions to cruelty, and the executioner generally crowned the feaſt.

While he refreſhed his army in theſe parts, Nearchus was returned from his expedition along the coaſt, and brought him ſtrange accounts of the gold to be found in ſome iſlands, and of the wonders that were to be ſeen in others; he was therefore

fore commanded to make ſome further diſcoveries; and then enter the mouth of the river Euphrates, to meet the king at Babylon. He here alſo executed an act of rigorous juſtice upon Cleander and others, who had formerly been the miniſters of his vengeance in cutting off Parmenio. Againſt theſe murderers great complaints had been made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded; and ſuch was the complexion of ther crimes, that nothing but the certain expectation of Alexander's never returning from India could encourage them to commit ſuch. All men were glad to ſee them delivered over to juſtice. Cleander, with ſix hundred ſoldiers, whom he had employed, were publicly executed; every one rejoicing that the anger of the king was at laſt turned againſt the miniſters of his vengeance. As Alexander drew nearer to Babylon, he viſited the tomb of Cyrus, in the city of Paſargada; and here he put a Perſian prince, whoſe name was Orſines, to death, at the indiſtation of Bagoas, an eunuch, who falſely accuſed Orſines of robbing the tomb. Here alſo, Calanus, the Indian, having lived fourſcore and three years, without ever having been afflicted with ſickneſs, now feeling the approaches of diſorder, reſolved to put himſelf to death. Alexander imagined he might eaſily be diſſuaded from his deſign; but finding, in oppo-

 ſition

ſition to all the arguments he could uſe, that Calanus was inflexible, he gave orders for erecting a funeral pile for him, upon which the Indian was reſolved to die.

Calanus rode on horſeback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; cauſed libations to be performed, and the reſt of the ceremonies to be obſerved which are practiſed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced ſuch of his friends as were preſent; intreated them to be merry that day, and to feaſt and carouſe with Alexander; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would ſoon ſee that prince in Babylon. After ſaying theſe words, he aſcended with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, the funeral pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame reached him, he did not make the leaſt motion; but, with a patience and conſtancy that ſurprized the whole army, continued in the ſame poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf, and completed his ſacrifice, by dying agreeably to the ſtrange ſuperſtitions of the enthuſiaſts of his country. Alexander punctually obeyed him in his admonitions to debauchery. A banquet followed the night after, in which Promacus received a talent as a prize, for having drank the largeſt quantity of wine: he ſurvived his victory, however, but three days; and of the reſt of the gueſts, forty-

forty-one died of their intemperance. From Pafargada Alexander proceeded to Sufa, where he married Statira, the eldeft daughter of Darius, and gave her youngeft fifter in marriage to his favourite Hephœftion. Fourfcore Perfian ladies of rank were given to the principal favourites among his captains. The nuptials were folemnized after the Perfian manner. He likewife feafted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related, that there were nine thoufand guefts at this feaft, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for their libations. Upon this occafion there appeared at Sufa three hundred young foldiers, dreffed in the Macedonian manner, whom Alexander intended particularly to favour, in order to check the unrulinefs of his veterans, who had but too juft reafon to murmur.

While Alexander was thus employed in Perfia, a new commotion was carrying on in Greece. Harpalus, whom Alexander had appointed governor of Babylon, being difgufted with his mafter's cruelty, and ambitious of power himfelf, went over into Greece with immenfe fums, which he raifed from the plundered prifoners of Perfia. He had credit enough to affemble a body of fix thoufand foldiers, and with thefe he landed at Athens: money, at that time, being thought all-powerful in Greece, he lavifhed immenfe fums among the

mercenary orators, whofe bufinefs it was to inflame the minds of the people. Of all thefe, Phocion alone, to whom he offered feven hundred talents, preferved his well-known integrity, and remained inflexible: his difinterestednefs had long been an object of admiration, even in the time of Philip. Being offered a great fum of money, if not for his own acceptance, at leaft for the benefit of his children:——"If my children," cried Phocion, "refemble me, the little fpot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raifed me to the glory you mention, will be fufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to ftimulate and heighten their luxury." Alexander having likewife fent him an hundred talents. Phocion afked thofe who brought them, why Alexander fent him fo great a fum, and did not remit any to the reft of the Athenians? It is, replied they, becaufe Alexander looks upon you as the only juft and virtuous man. Phocion replied, Let him fuffer me ftill to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for. This, therefore, was not a character to be corrupted; on the contrary, he ufed all his influence to prevent the fuccefs of Harpalus, who being ordered by the affembly to depart the city, loft all hopes of fuccefs.

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This commotion was ſcarcely quelled when another enſued, in conſequence of a declaration, by which all the Macedonians, who from their age or infirmities were unable to bear the fatigues of war, ſhould be ſent back to Greece. They with ſeditious cries unanimouſly demanded to be entirely diſcharged from his ſervice, murmuring againſt him as a deſpiſer of his braveſt troops, and as a cruel king, who wanted not their abſence, but their deſtruction. Alexander, however, acted with that reſolution upon this occaſion, which always marked his character. Being ſeated on his tribunal of juſtice, he ruſhed among the principal mutineers, ſeized thirteen, and ordered them to be immediately puniſhed. The ſoldiers, amazed at his intrepidity, with-held their complaints, and with down-caſt eyes ſeemed to beg for mercy.—You deſired a diſcharge, cried he: go then, and publiſh to the world that you have left your prince to the mercy of ſtrangers; from henceforth, the Perſians ſhall be my guards. This menace ſerved only to increaſe the miſery and the conſternation of his troops; they attended him with tears and lamentations; till at laſt, ſoftened by their penitence, he once more took them into favour and affection.

Now, ſecure from inſurrection, he gave himſelf up to mirth and feaſting; his army was followed

by all the minifters of pleafure; he fpent whole nights and days in immoderate drinking, and in one of thofe exceffes Hephœftion loft his life. This courtier was the moft intimate friend of Alexander. Craterus alone, of all the Macedonians, feemed to difpute this honour with him. Craterus, as the king ufed to fay, loves the king, but Hephœftion loves Alexander. The death of this favourite threw the monarch into exceffive forrow; he feemed to receive no confolation; he even put to death the phyfician who attended him; and the extraordinary funeral honour celebrated at his arrival in Babylon, marked the greatnefs of his affliction.

After various combats, conquefts, cruelties, follies, and exceffes, Alexander arrived at Babylon. On his approach to the city many finifter omens were obferved; on which account the Chaldeans, who pretended to forefee future events, attempted to perfuade him not to enter that city. The Greek philofophers, on the other hand difplayed the futility of their predictions. Babylon was a theatre for him to difplay his glory on; and ambaffadors, from all the nations he had conquered, were there in readinefs to celebrate his triumphs. After making a moft magnificent entry, he gave audience to the ambaffador, with a grandeur and dignity fuitable

fuitable to his power, yet with the affability and politenefs of a private courtier.

At that time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the affembly at the Olympic games, whereby the feveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, thofe excepted who had committed facrilege, or any other crime deferving death; ordering Antipater to employ an armed force againft fuch cities as fhould refufe to obey. This letter was read in the affembly; but the Athenians and Ætolians did not think themfelves obliged to put orders in execution which feemed to interfere with their liberty.

Finding Babylon, in extent and conveniency, fuperior to all the other cities in the Eaft, he refolved to make it the feat of his empire; and for that purpofe was defirous of adding to it all the ornaments poffible. Though he was much employed in projects of this kind, and in fchemes even beyond human power to execute, he fpent the greateft part of his time in fuch pleafures as this magnificent city afforded. But his pleafures often terminated in licentioufnefs and riot. The recent lofs of Hephœftion; the fad remembrance which he ftill had of the iniquitous death of the virtuous Callifthenes, and of the gallant Clitus; but above all, of the barbarities exercifed on Par-

 menio,

menio, and his innocent ſon; the idea of theſe ſhocking events feſtering his mind, had caſt a thick gloom over his ſpirits; to diſſipate which required the application of ſome very powerful remedy. The remedy to which he had recourſe was, *intemperance.* He was, of courſe, often invited to banquets, at which he drank immoderately. On a particular occaſion, having ſpent the whole night in a debauch, a ſecond was propoſed: he accepted the invitation, and drank to ſuch exceſs, that he fell upon the floor, to appearance dead; and in this lifeleſs manner was carried, a ſad ſpectacle of debauchery, to his palace. The fever continued, with ſome intervals, in which he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover. But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he gave his ring to Perdiccas with orders to convey his corpſe to the temple of Ammon. He ſtruggled, however, with death for ſome time; and raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, he gave his hand to the ſoldiers, who preſſed to kiſs it: being then aſked, to whom he would leave his empire, he anſwered,—To the moſt worthy. Perdiccas enquiring at what time he ſhould pay him divine honours, he replied,—When you are happy. With theſe words he expired, being thirty-two years

years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve, with more fortune than virtue.

By the death of this illuſtrious conqueror, were fulfilled many of the prophecies of the ſacred writers. One of them is ſingularly ſtriking: "The temple of Belus ſhall be broken down unto the ground, never to riſe from its ruins." That the word of God might ſtand firm, Alexander is cut off, at the very inſtant he is preparing to rebuild that temple, and to reſtore Babylon to its wonted ſplendor. Alexander left one ſon; he was named Hercules, and was born of Barſine, the daughter of Artabaſus, and widow of Memnon. Both Roxana, and Statira, are ſaid to have been left pregnant.

In whatever light we view this monarch, we ſhall find little to admire, and leſs to imitate. That courage for which he was celebrated, is but a ſubordinate virtue; that fortune which ſtill attended him, was but an accidental advantage; that diſcipline which prevailed in his army, was produced and cultivated by his father; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his paſſion for uſeleſs conqueſts, were all his own. His victories, however, ſerved to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; they ſerved to ſhew, to what a degree the arts of peace can promote thoſe of war. In this picture, we view a combination of petty ſtates, by the arts of refinement, growing more than

than a match for the reſt of the world united; and leaving mankind an example of the ſuperiority of intellect over brutal force.

The ſucceſſors of Alexander ſeized upon particular parts of his extenſive empire; and what he gained with much fatigue and danger, became a prey to men who ſheltered their ambition under the ſanction and glory of his name. They had been taught by him a leſſon of pride; and as he would never ſuffer an equal, his numerous ſucceſſors could not think of admitting a ſuperior. They continued their diſputes for dominion, until in ſome meaſure they deſtroyed each other; and as no governments were ever worſe conducted than theirs, ſo few periods of hiſtory were ever left in greater darkneſs, doubt, and confuſion.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL ✻ THE TANJORE

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

TRANSACTIONS IN GREECE, FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES TO THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER.

WHEN a general convention of the ſtates declared a Macedonian king captain-general of their forces againſt the barbarians, they proclaimed to the world that Greece had ceaſed to act a primary part, and fallen from the rank ſhe had held among the nations. The diſtractions which followed the death of Alexander, afforded an opportunity of reclaiming her dignity; and this opportunity, indeed, ſhe neither overlooked nor neglected. But the ſame cauſes which ſubjected the degenerate Greeks to a foreign power, rendered all their efforts to recover their liberty ineffectual. It was not the policy of Philip, or the vigour of Alexander, that ſubdued the Grecian ſtates, though theſe contributed to precipitate their fall: is was a relaxation of manners that ruined Greece; it was the inſolence of proſperity, which, by provoking internal jealouſy and diſcord, invited the ambition of neighbouring and powerful ſtates and princes. Theſe cauſes continued to operate with increaſing force, and humbled the Grecians

Grecians under whatever power preponderated in the countries with which they were ſurrounded. The Macedonian was only exchanged for the Roman yoke; and the Roman for that of different tribes of barbarians; until at laſt, about the middle of the fifteenth* century, they found a melancholy repoſe in the ſtability of the Ottoman empire.

The Grecian ſtates, during this long period, being under the influence of foreign councils, and the controul of foreign arms, had loſt their exiſtence as a nation. But neither did they ſubmit to ſlavery without a ſtruggle, nor did the power which ſubverted their government deface, at once, their national character, or deſtroy, but by degrees, the various effects which flowed from their original genius and political inſtitutions. It is propoſed, in what follows, to trace, amidſt the revolutions of nations, the remains of Greece; to take a ſummary view of her efforts for the recovery of expiring liberty; to trace thoſe features that remained the longeſt unſullied by the infection of barbariſm; and thoſe efforts of genius, which, ſurviving the diſſolution of the ſtate, continued,

* *From the acceſſion of Alexander to the throne of Macedon, to the ſacking of Conſtantinople in* 1445; *a ſpace upwards of* 1500 *years.*

and

and ſtill continue, to enlighten and refine the world.

The ſevere puniſhment inflicted by Alexander on the city of Thebes, the vigilance and vigour of Antipater, to whom he had committed the charge of his affairs in Europe, with the progreſs of the Macedonian arms in Aſia, alarmed and over-awed the nations of Greece, at the ſame time that Macedonian and Perſian gold corrupted their morals, and divided and confounded their councils. But, even in this ſituation of affairs, Sparta dared to ſtand forth ſingly the aſſertor of ancient liberty. Being guarded, in ſome meaſure, by her political conſtitution, againſt the arts of corruption, ſhe reſiſted the ſeducements of the Macedonian emiſſaries, and exhibited a noble example of patriotiſm to the other ſtates of Greece. Her throne was adorned by an active, brave, and intrepid king, Agis, the ſon of Archidamus, and grandſon of the renowned Ageſilaus. It was he who infuſed into the Spartan deputies that ſpirit of oppoſition which they ſhewed to the meaſures of Alexander, in the general convention of the ſtates; by which he at once reprobated the Greeks for their abject ſubmiſſion, and ſignified to their uſurper, that ſome ſparks of independence were ſtill left in Greece. He had ſhown himſelf worthy of the honours of royalty, long before he was inveſted

invefted with them, by his fpirited conduct at the court of Philip of Macedon. Having been fent thither in the quality of ambaffador, that proud monarch, who had been ufed to receive a number of ambaffadors from the other Grecian ftates, faid, with an air of contempt, "What! from Sparta "but one?" "Why, replied Agis, I was fent "but to one." When, on another occafion, one of the creatures of that prince told him, that "Phi-"lip would not allow him to fet a foot in any other "part of Greece:" "Well, faid he, it is lucky "that we have a good deal of room at home."

In the beginning of Alexander's reign, Agis did not think it prudent to oppofe him by his arms, well knowing, that the fuperior number of the Macedonian troops, and the high fpirits with which feveral fuccefsful campaigns had expired them, had rendered any attempt of that kind extremely hazardous. But he thwarted his meafures as much as he could by his counfels; and was fully determined to embrace the very firft occafion of vindicating the rights of his country. After the battle of Iffus, a great many mercenaries fled out of Perfia; of thefe he enlifted into the fervice of Sparta upwards of eight thoufand, and immediately declared for the Perfian king. He eftablifhed a regular correfpondence with that monarch, by which he was informed of Alexander's various movements

movements and fucceffes. He received money from Perfia, to enablē him to profecute his defigns; and having formed a powerful confederacy in Peloponnefus, refolved to lofe no time in commencing hoftilities. It muft be remarked here, that Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, took no fhare in thefe tranfactions. His advanced age admitted not of vigorous exertions, and he was contented to fee the military operations of the ftate directed by his colleague, in whofe abilities he placed entire confidence. When Agis, therefore, had made the neceffary preparations, he failed over to Crete, where he excited an infurrection, and eftablifhed the power and the government of the Spartans. Having returned from that expedition, he again renewed his endeavours to promote difaffection among the Grecian ftates. His applications to them were now more open, and they were alfo more fuccefsful. The news of the defeat of Darius at Arbela, had juft been received in Greece, and the minds of all men were alarmed by the rapidity of Alexander's conquefts. A more feafonable opportunity could not have offered itfelf, for Agis to promote his defigns. He forthwith fet himfelf to convince his countrymen of the great dangers that threatened them: he fhowed them, that the effects of Alexander's victories would be the fubjugation of all the eaft; and the

natural

natural consequence of that subjugation the return of the victor to load them with chains: a state of degradation, in his opinion, more humiliating, and more disgraceful, than the vilest condition of Persian slaves. The Greeks felt the weight of his remonstrances, and were ready to second his intentions. An army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was levied, with which force Agis took the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponnesus that had acknowledged Alexander for its sovereign. Antipater was, at that time, employed in quashing a rebellion which had taken place in Thrace; but, on hearing of the operations of the Peloponnesians, he adjusted matters in Thrace, in the best way that circumstances would allow, and drew off his troops to combat a more dangerous foe. His army consisted of forty thousand men. Great, however, as his superiority was, Agis did not seek to avoid an engagement: so that a general action soon ensued, in which the Spartans and their allies were routed. The loss on each side was three thousand five hundred men. Agis himself fell, but he fell gloriously. Having been distinguished by his exertions during the battle, and having received a number of wounds, when the rout became general, his soldiers, who were bearing him on their shoulders, were likely to be surrounded: on seeing which, he

he commanded them to ſet him down, and to preſerve themſelves by flight, for the future ſervices of their country. His ſoldiers obeyed; he was left alone, and on his knees he fought and killed ſeveral of the Macedonians, whom he continued to engage till he was run through the body with a dart. Thus fell Agis, one of the moſt virtuous and valiant men that his country had ever produced. He had reigned nine years.

Had the bold ſchemes of Agis ſucceeded, all Greece would have probably revolted. Not only would the different ſtates have endeavoured to protect their own rights and privileges, but they would have carried, in their turn, the arms of Greece into Macedon. Alexander's hereditary dominions would have been endangered, and all his plans of foreign conqueſt overthrown. It is to be regretted that Agis was ſo precipitate in taking up arms againſt Macedon. Had he proceeded more deliberately and circumſpectly; had he either waited till he ſhould have increaſed his army at home, or obtained ſuccour from Perſia his countrymen, animated by their flattering ſituation, and rouzed by the recollection of the glorious deeds of their anceſtors, might not only have checked the growing power of Macedon, but prolonged the reputation and conſequence of Greece.

The ſubſequent reigns of the Spartan kings were ſo unimportant and ſo obſcure, that there is hardly any thing known of them but their names, and thoſe of a few of the leading men. Eudemidas, the ſon of Agis, aſcended the throne upon the death of his father. He was more virtuous and wiſe than any of his ſucceſſors; and, fortunately for mankind, his excellent qualities were all of the gentle and moderate kind. They were ſuch as led him to inculcate on the minds of his ſubjects, that the bleſſings of peace, even in a ſtate of degradation, are ſuperior far to thoſe precarious, fleeting honours, which princes often purchaſed at the expence of the wealth and blood of their ſubjects.

The Lacedemonians were ſo incenſed by the loſs of Agis, whom they all revered and loved, that they reſolved to proſecute the war at all events. There were, however, in Sparta, a few who oppoſed this reſolution; and of that number was Eudemidas. A ſaying of his on that occaſion, is worthy of being remembered. "Why, ſir," ſaid a certain citizen to him, "do you alone adviſe the "continuance of peace, when all your ſubjects "are for war?" "Becauſe," anſwered the king, "I wiſh to convince them, that what they want "would be injurious to them." When another of his ſubjects was magnifying, in his preſence, the

victories

victories which their anceftors had won from the Perfians, and was from thence, drawing arguments in favour of renewing hoftilities againft Macedon, "You perhaps think," faid Eudemidas, "that it is the fame thing to make war againft a "thoufand fheep, as againft fifty wolves." Having, one day, gone by accident into the fchool of Xenocrates the philofopher, and obferved that he was very old, he afked one of thofe who ftood next to him, what was the old man's profeffion. Upon being anfwered that he was a wifeman who fought after virtue, "Alas," faid he, "is he feeking it at "thefe years! when then will he make ufe of it?" And when, as we fhall fee afterwards, Alexander caufed the return of all the exiles that belonged to Greece, thofe of Thebes excepted, to be proclaimed at the Olympic games; "'Tis a hard "cafe, O ye Thebans," faid Eudemidas, "but "at the fame time very honourable; for it is evi-"dent, that of all the Greeks, Alexander fears "you only."

Antipater having fucceeded to his wifh in crufhing the infurrection in Peloponnefus, and having cut off Agis, who was the chief fpring of that infurrection, he refolved to render Alexander's power in Greece ftill more complete, and his authority more indifputable. The moft formidable enemy which Macedon had ever known in that country,

was Demofthenes; the effects of whofe eloquence had been felt both by Philip and his fon. On Demofthenes, therefore, Antipater determined to wreak his vengeance: and a fit occafion for doing fo foon offered. Harpalus, one of Alexander's captains, having incurred the difpleafure of his mafter, fled for protection to Athens. During the time that he had commanded in Afia, he had amaffed an enormous quantity of treafure, with which he hoped to gain the degenerate Athenians over to his defperate caufe. His expectations were not altogether vain. Many of the chief orators, allured by the golden profpects which were fet before them, tendered their fervices, and gave him reafon to think that they could enfure him of fafety. Two of the orators, however, were ftill uncorrupted; thefe were Phocion and Demofthenes. Phocion is faid to have withftood every folicitation, and to have rejected every offer which Harpalus could make with difdain. Demofthenes's virtue is faid to have been equally inflexible for a while; fo high, indeed, did his indignation rife, when he firft beheld Harpalus, diftributing his bribes among the people, that he ftood up and made a warm oration againft him, treating him no otherwife than as a villain, who had robbed his mafter, and who was come to Athens to involve the nation in a frefh war with Alexander. But he

foon

ſoon changed his tone; for when Harpalus was landing his treaſures, a golden cup, of immenſe value and beautiful workmanſhip, is ſaid to have caught his eye. Harpalus obſerving that he looked at it with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, begged of him to take it up, and poiſe it in his hand. When he had done ſo, he aſked Harpalus what might be the value of it. "To you, ſir," replied Harpalus, "it ſhall bring twenty talents:" and that very evening it is ſaid to have been ſent, with twenty talents, to the orator's houſe. Demoſthenes was, next day, to have delivered his opinion reſpecting the propriety of granting protection to a Macedonian culprit. But when he was called upon, he ſhowed his throat bound round with ſeveral rollers, on account of a bad cold which he had caught. A wit was ſaid to have obſerved, on that occaſion, that "the orator had got a golden quinſey." In a very ſhort time, a rumour went abroad that Alexander had heard that the Athenians had ſuffered Harpalus to take refuge in their city, and that he was ſo incenſed, that he was juſt about to diſpatch a formidable fleet, to puniſh them for their treachery. This rumour inſpired the greateſt conſternation, and Harpalus was immediately expelled from the city. An enquiry was now ſet on foot, reſpecting thoſe perſons who had accepted of preſents from Har

palus. This was the inftrument by which Antipater was to deftroy Demofthenes. He, with feveral others, was impeached: a profecution commenced before the court of the Areopagus, which finding him guilty of receiving gold from Harpalus, he was fined in fifty talents. Being unable to pay fo large a fum, he was forced to go into banifhment.

This change in the condition of Demofthenes, has given rife to a variety of opinions refpecting the caufe of it. The moft reafonable, as alfo the moft probable one is, that it was the effect of the malice of his rival orators, added to the terror which the threat of Antipater had occafioned in the Areopagus. Demofthenes is fully exculpated both by Plutarch and Paufanias. Plutarch affures us, that that orator was the very firft perfon who propofed that thofe who had been fufpected of receiving bribes, fhould be brought to trial in the court of the Areopagus; and had he been guilty, fays the hiftorian, it is not likely that he would have been fo forward in the affair. Paufanias again informs us, that Harpalus having fled to the ifland of Crete, was there flain by his own fervants; that his chief fervant, who was likewife his confidant, falling into the hands of Philoxenus, was by him put to the torture, that he might thereby be compelled to difcover which of the Athenians had accepted

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of Harpalus's gold. From his confeſſion it appeared that Demoſthenes was innocent. Philoxenus, who was an officer in Alexander's ſervice, and an avowed enemy to Demoſthenes, has confirmed this fact.

Antipater's deep policy in promoting the above charge againſt Demoſthenes, has very juſtly been admired. He thereby freed Macedon of the greateſt obſtacle to her ambition, and prepared the minds of the Athenians for a chearful acquieſcence in the meaſures of the friends of Alexander, by convincing them, that he who had made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of patriotiſm and zeal for the proſperity of Greece, had, all the while, been aiming only at his own perſonal aggrandizement.

With the loſs of Agis, Sparta was diſarmed; and with Demoſthenes fled the very life and ſoul of the foreign operations of the Athenians. One would think that theſe events, ſo fatal to Greece, would have tended to ſtay the unaccountable reſentment of Alexander; but they had no ſuch effect. There ſtill remained an act by which he might oppreſs that once flouriſhing nation; and that act he was reſolved to ſee accompliſhed. The violence of political conteſts, and of unſucceſsful expeditions againſt foreign enemies, had filled all the cities of Greece with exiles Their number, at the period of which we are now ſpeaking, is

ſaid to have amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand. Alexander, who never heſitated at any thing that could either promote his ambition, or confirm his power, foreſaw advantages that were likely to ariſe from a judicious management of theſe unhappy men. It occurred to him, that if he ſhould be the means of reſtoring to them their former rights and immunities, they would, from a principal of gratitude, attach themſelves to his intereſt. Greece, he thought, by the accompliſhment of his ſcheme, might be brought to a total ſubmiſſion to the dominion of the Macedonian monarchs: for it would naturally produce convulſions in the ſtates, by the manifold transfers of power and property which would attend it: whence a very favourable conjuncture would be afforded for him to ſtep in, and extinguiſh thoſe ſparks of freedom, which appeared ſo irreconcileable with his general ſyſtem of government. Proclamation was accordingly made, in the name of the Macedonian monarch, at the Olympic games, "That "all the exiles (thoſe only who had been guilty "of atrocious crimes) ſhould be forthwith reſtored to their reſpective cities: and that thoſe "cities which ſhould refuſe to admit them, ſhould "be forced to compliance by dint of arms."

So unprecedented, ſo inſolent a command, could not fail to rouſe the indignation of a people who enjoyed

enjoyed the name, at leaſt, of being free. It conſtrained them to reflect on the glory which their anceſtors had enjoyed in the happier times of Themiſtocles and of Cimon, and to compare that glory with the diſgrace which overwhelmed them now. Sunk as they were in effeminacy and idleneſs, they nevertheleſs entertained in their minds ideas of independence, which a retroſpect to the virtues of their forefathers inflamed and heightened. They had boldly ridiculed the idea of Alexander's pretenſions to divinity. The Athenians had taken courage to fine one of their citizens for talking of having Alexander enrolled with the gods of their country: and they had paſſed ſentence of death on another, who being on an embaſſy to Alexander, had been ſo mean as to pay him divine honours. Theſe were, indeed, but ſmall exertions: ſuch, however, as they were, they ſerved to ſhow that Greece was not yet fully prepared to ſtoop to a tyrant. But all the former inſtances of Alexander's uſurpations were outdone by that, which was to compel them to receive into their ſociety men whoſe crimes had juſtly ſeparated them from their former connections. That act was aiming a deadly blow at their civil and municipal privileges, and was the groſſeſt inſult that any tyrant could have deviſed. But Greece did not ſubmit to it. The Athenians

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ſeemed to feel the indignity with ſuperior poignancy; nor were they at any pains to ſtifle their reſentment. They diſpatched ambaſſadors to all the neighbouring ſtates for the purpoſe of promoting an inſurrection; with many of which they were very ſuccesſful. The Ætolians, mindful of ſome proud, reproachful terms, which Alexander had uſed, eſpouſed the general cauſe with particular zeal.

Such was the aſpect of affairs when the news of Alexander's death reached Greece: news which added freſh ſpirits and vigour to all the operations of the inſurgents. Thoſe who had not already revolted, now ran to arms, drove out the Macedonians who were reſiding among them, and haſtened to put themſelves under the command of Leoſthenes, the Athenian, who had already collected a very conſiderable army.

It was now that Demoſthenes was recalled from baniſhment. His love for his country, though forced by its decrees to part with thoſe to whom he was peculiarly attached, had remained undiminiſhed. He had accompanied the Athenian ambaſſadors in their progreſs through Peloponneſus, and, by the powers of his elocution, had gained many friends to the cauſe which they ſought to maintain. He was deſervedly extolled for his oppoſition to Pytheas, an abettor of the

Macedonian

Macedonian cauſe, who ſtrove to ſow diſſention among the inhabitants of Arcadia. "The Athe- "nians," ſaid Pytheas, "may be likened unto aſs's "milk, which is a certain indication of ſickneſs "being in any houſe into which it is brought; "for when they appear in any city, we may with "certainty pronounce that city to be diſtempered." —"True," anſwered Demoſthenes, "but as aſs's "milk is a reſtorative of health, ſo are Athenian "counſels of diſtempered ſtates." It was in conſideration of ſuch ſervices as theſe, that Demoſthenes was invited to participate again in the pleaſures of his native country. The invitation was accompanied with very flattering marks of reſpect. A galley was diſpatched to Ægina, where he was reſiding, to convey him to Athens. As he approached the city, the citizens of every rank and ſex went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his ſafe return. By the laws of his country, the fine which had been impoſed on him could not be remitted. His fellow citizens, therefore, being ſolicitous that he ſhould lie under no ſort of reſtraint, nominated him to the office of preparing the temple of Jupiter Conſervator, againſt the feaſt of that deity, with an appointment of fifty talents, the nett amount of his fine. This being paid, Demoſthenes began afreſh to harangue in favour of Athenian liberty.

Leoſthenes

Leofthenes had now got together a very powerful army, with which he marched againft Antipater. As foon as that general received intelligence of the approach of Leofthenes, being aware of the inferiority of his troops to thofe of the Athenian, he fent off a courier to Craterus, then acting in Cilicia, to requeft a fupply. In the mean time, he marched his troops into Theffaly, where he was joined by a large body of cavalry. But the Theffalians, when they faw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceiving how greatly fuperior their army was in numbers to that of the Macedonians, immediately deferted to them. Antipater, however, was not difcouraged: he ventured to engage the enemy; but, being routed, he was forced to betake himfelf to flight. He led off his men in good order; and having arrived at Lamia, a city in Theffaly, he caufed the place to be fortified, and with eight or nine thoufand foot prepared to make a defperate defence. The Athenians advanced, and attacked the city: but finding it too well fortified to be eafily taken by ftorm, they fet themfelves down before it, in hopes of carrying it by a regular fiege. Thefe dawnings of fuccefs had greatly elated the minds of the Athenians. They had once more feen their invaders conftrained to retire within their native limits. Their countrymen feemed to act with unufual unanimity

and

and energy; and they thought they had now reafon to look for a return of their ancient greatnefs. But Phocion's ideas were different; he made it his bufinefs to expofe their infatuation, and to check their mifguided ardour; well knowing that they poffeffed neither fufficient conftancy nor vigour to carry on a fuccefsful war with the Macedonians. "What do you think," faid one of his leaders to him, "will be the moft proper time for going to war?" "When the young men," replied he, "keep within the bounds of regularity; when the rich are liberal in their donations; and the orators ceafe to rob the ftate." During thefe commotions there is not a word faid of Demofthenes. Perhaps Phocion, with whom he then lived on terms of intimacy and friendfhip, had convinced him by converfation, which he never could do by public fpeaking, that every idea of oppofition to Macedon was now become vain and extravagant.

Difficulties, and long habits of military experience had made Antipater fruitful of refources. Though every day attacked by frefh troops, he maintained his fituation, and feemed not to abate either in fpirit or ftrength. Making at laft, a fudden fally upon the workmen, he threw them into great diforder; and Leofthenes, who haftened to their affiftance, was unfortunately killed with a ftone

ſtone. This incident greatly diſcouraged the Athenians. They did not, however relinquiſh their ſyſtem of conqueſt: they choſe Antiphilus their general and purſued Antipater, who had, by his ſpirited ſally, eſcaped from Lamia. Shortly after that event, they fell in with the Macedonians, under Leonatus, and completely routed them: but ſuch repeated ſucceſſes were their ruin. Overjoyed with the victories which they had gained, and filled with contempt at the feeble reſiſtance made by the Macedonians, many of them returned home, to boaſt of the triumph of their arms, and to congratulate their friends on the return of ancient freedom. The period of their rejoicing was ſhort. Antipater having received a ſtrong reinforcement from Cilicia, under the command of Craterus, advanced towards Cranon, a city in Theſſaly, where he engaged and quite diſcomfited the enemy, who were led on by Antiphilus and Memnon. Though the confederates loſt only five hundred men in this battle, yet their ſpirits were ſo broken by it, that they immediately ſued for a peace. To grant a *general* peace was not Antipater's deſign; he wiſhed to ſee the Athenians more thoroughly humbled. He therefore acquainted the vanquiſhed, that he was ready to enter upon ſeparate treaties with them, and to hear what were their demands. This propoſition the Grecians

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rejected with ſcorn; but finding that ſeveral cities belonging to their allies in Theſſaly, fell daily before the enemy, they were glad to accept of any terms. In a ſhort time, therefore, Antipater had granted to every ſtate, and to every city, except Athens, whatever they demanded. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, Phocion, with ſome other orators, was delegated by the Atheniaus, to ſue for peace from Antipater, who was then encamped at Cadmæa. Phocion entreated that the terms might be adjuſted there; but Craterus inſiſted upon marching the Macedonians into Attica, and opening the treaty at the gates of Athens; alledging, "That it was unreaſonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with an enemy." Antipater acknowledged the juſtice of what he ſaid; "but yet," ſubjoined he, "let us grant this ſingle favour to Phocion." The favour was granted, and a peace was concluded; but the terms of it were equally ſubverſive of Athenian honour and power. Demoſthenes and Hyperides were to be delivered up; a diſtinction, which they no doubt owed to their ſuperior zeal in the ſervice of their country. The democracy was to be aboliſhed; the ancient mode of raiſing taxes reſtored; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garriſon, and to defray the expences of the war. Phocion, who may be

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ſuppoſed to have had more influence with Antipater than any other Athenian, on account of his pacific diſpoſition, was not, with the utmoſt exertions of his eloquence, able to preſerve his native city from the ignominy of being garriſoned by Macedonian ſoldiers. He uſed every argument which could be dictated, either by his fear of ſhame, or his regard for his country's honour; but he could not prevail; determined on oppreſſion, the victor remained unmoved. Menyllus, a man of an amiable temper of mind, and a friend of Phocion's was ſent to Athens to command the new garriſon. Upwards of twelve thouſand Athenians were disfranchiſed. Many of theſe found their condition ſo inſupportable, that they were obliged to go into Thrace, and to ſettle there as Macedonian coloniſts

Upon the arrival of the meſſenger who brought the firſt accounts of that diſgraceful treaty, Demoſthenes fled to Calauria, a ſmall iſland oppoſite to Troezene. He was conſcious of having rendered too eſſential ſervices to his country to have any hopes that Antipater would ſhew him mercy. Soon after his departure, Archias, a player, was ſent to find him out. Being informed that he had taken refuge in the temple of Neptune, which had been raiſed in that iſland; thither Archias bent his courſe. He found the patriot orator ſitting, more

collected and compofed than his natural timidity gave reafon to expect that he would be. He tried to perfuade him to return home; affuring him that Antipater would treat him humanely. Demofthenes, who knew better than Archias did what were the difpofitions of Antipater, faid—"O, Archias, I never was much moved with you as a player; and now I am as little moved with you as a negociator." When Archias began to prefs him hard, he begged leave to withdraw a little farther into the temple, in order to write a few lines to his family. When he had got to the place where he was to write, he put a poifoned quill into his mouth, and chewed it, as he ufually did other quills, when he was very thoughtful. The poifon beginning to operate, he turned towards the tragedian, and faid, "Now, Sir, you may act the part of Creon, in the tragedy, as foon as you pleafe, and caft out this body of mine unburied." He defired to be fupported to the door of the temple, being unwilling to pollute it by his death; but as he paffed by the altar, he expired.

Some hiftorians have been at pains to refute this account of the death of Demofthenes; alleging, that he died of grief and a broken conftitution; but their account of the event is neither fo probable, nor fo well attefted, as that which has now been given.

The Athenian citizens, who had not forfeited the favour and protection of Antipater, enjoyed a degree of tranquility and affluence, which had been for a long time unknown. For many years they had been torn to pieces by the diffentions which invariably attend a democracy. This form of government Antipater had abolifhed: he had put them nearly upon the fame footing on which they ftood in thofe virtuous days, in which they had profpered by the wife inftitutions of Solon. Moft of the other ftates derived advantages of a fimilar kind; and though they were at firft much diffatisfied, on account of the infringements which they imagined he had made on their freedom, yet they foon found that they were, in reality, become a more free people than they had hitherto been. They acknowledged their obligations to Antipater, and honoured him with the title of, The father and protector of Greece.

Antipater, having revifited Macedon, was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Philla, whom he had beftowed on Craterus, when he was informed that the Ætolians had taken the field with a large army. The Ætolians were the only people in Greece who complained of the terms granted them by the governor of Macedon; and they were refolved, either to extort more favourable conditions, or to lofe their all in the field of battle.

Antipater,

Antipater, and his young ſon-in-law, marched directly into Ætolia; and after encountering ſeveral difficulties, had the good fortune to ſee the enemy routed. Theſe operations happened in the winter ſeaſon. In the ſpring Antipater prepared to beſiege the cities of Ætolia which had not ſurrendered: but before he had been able to effect any thing that was great, he was informed, by Antigonus, that Perdiccas had been paving the way to a revolt in the Eaſt. The chief arguments which Antigonus uſed to influence Antipater's mind, were, that Perdiccas had ſlighted Nicæa (the daughter of Antipater), and put to death Cynane, the ſiſter of Alexander. This information declared the neceſſity which there was for his immediate preſence in Aſia. He was, therefore, obliged to enter into a treaty with the Ætolians; which ending in a peace, he was left at leiſure to look after his concerns in the Eaſt.

While Antipater and Craterus were rectifying diſorders beyond the Hellespont, the Ætolians entered into a reſolution of avenging themſelves of the injuries which they had ſuſtained during the preceding winter. They therefore entered the territories of Macedon with a formidable armament, and were committing dreadful depredations, when their career was interrupted by Polycles, who commanded in that quarter for Antipater.

The Ætolians found means to bring Polycles to a general action. His troops being greatly inferior to theirs, in point of numbers, were ſoon put to flight, and he himſelf ſlain. Before the victors had time to improve the advantages which they had gained, they received advice that the Acarnanians had already penetrated into the heart of their country, and were laying all waſte by fire and ſword. They therefore retreated with precipitation to Ætolia; leaving, however, their allies in Theſſaly under the command of Menon. Polyperchon, who had the command in Macedon, took the advantage of the diviſion which had been made in the Ætolian army; and, marching directly into Theſſaly, fell upon Menon before he was aware and completely diſcomfited his troops. The Ætolians were ſo ſtruck by the news of Menon's defeat, that they immediately laid down their arms. Thus was peace once more reſtored to Macedon.

We are now to take a view of the Athenians, before the total decay of their national conſequence. We are to behold them, not demanding liberty with the noble confidence of an independent people, but imploring it with the ſervility of ſlaves. Peaceable and happy as their city had been, ſince its ſubmiſſion to Antipater, there was one circumſtance in their lot which they could not

 brook

brook with patience: that was, their being protected by a Macedonian garrifon. The dignity and the glory of their anceftors recurred to their minds, and prompted them to wifh for the femblance at leaft of Freedom. The firft effects of this difpofition were manifefted by their application to Phocion, whofe influence with Antipater they knew to be great, to repair to that general, who was juft returned from Afia, and to pray him to remove the Macedonian garrifon. But Phocion, well knowing that it was then too late a period of their national exiftence for them to be able to guard themfelves, bluntly declined the commiffion. He interceded, however, with the king for the return of the Athenian exiles, and had them all reftored to their homes and ancient privileges.

The recal of the garrifon by Antipater, was an object of too much moment to be eafily abandoned. On the refufal, therefore, of Phocion, they turned their eyes towards Demades, the orator, who was likewife a favourite with Antipater. Having lefs magnanimity and patriotifm, but much more vanity and felf-conceit, than Phocion, this man undertook the embaffy. It was this fame Demades who reproved Philip's indecent exultation after the battle of Chæronea; it was he who drew up the fentence of banifhment againft Demofthenes, when he fled

to Calauria; and it was he who accompanied Phocion to Cadmæa, to treat with Antipater and Craterus, after the fatal battle of Cranon. He had long been a tool to Antipater: he wanted not for abilities or eloquence; but probity and difintereftednefs were none of his virtues. Antipater often faid that he had two friends at Athens:—Phocion, who never would accept of any reward for his fervices; and Demades, who never thought he had received enough. Whether Antipater had difcontinued his largeffes to Demades, or whether Demades expected to be more liberally rewarded by Perdiccas, we cannot fay; but he had formed a correfpondence with that commander, and had recommended to him to come over, and affume the government of Macedon and Greece. A letter of his to Perdiccas was found, in which were thefe words; "Come and be the fupport of Macedon and Greece, which at prefent lean on an old rotten ftaff;" meaning Antipater. This difcovery was made at the very time that he and his fon were foliciting the recal of the garrifon. Antipater ftraightway ordered the fon of Demades to be flain, in his father's fight; and the moment that he had expired, fentence of death was pronounced on the father himfelf. Thus fell Demades, the orator; and with his life were extinguifhed all hopes of Athenian liberty.

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The death of Antipater happened ſoon after that of the orator Demades, and a very ſhort time after his return from his Aſiatic expedition. The exceſſive fatigue which he had undergone in forcing the Greeks to ſubmit to the power of Macedon, and in accommodating matters in Aſia, had preyed greatly upon a conſtitution already impaired by age. Being faithful and zealous in the cauſe of his country, his mind enjoyed but little repoſe. As ſoon as he had arrived in Macedon, he employed himſelf in endeavouring to compoſe the differences ſubſiſting among his countrymen, and to inſtruct them in the arts of peace. Anxiety of mind, co-operating with an enfeebled and declining habit of body, produced a violent diſeaſe, which ſoon left him but little room to hope for a recovery. Though loaded with diſtreſs, he acted not unworthily either of the highneſs of his deſcent, or the excellence of his underſtanding. He was noble by birth, and had been educated in the ſchool of Ariſtotle. He aſſembled his friends, and thoſe of his country, and admoniſhed and inſtructed them in the courſe of conduct which he wiſhed them to purſue. To Polyperchon, the eldeſt of all Alexander's captains then in Europe, he bequeathed the two high offices of protector and governor of Macedon. His own ſon, Caſſander, he made a chiliarch, or commander

of a thoufand men; an appointment of very great confideration in thofe days. He gave directions concerning the Athenian garrifon, and recommended moderation and forbearance towards the Athenians. Thus did Antipater reconcile the minds of his countrymen to the lofs which they were about to fuftain, and lay the foundation of future concord and vigour in the government of Macedon. His career of glory was at an end:—full of years and honours, and furrounded and lamented by his friends he died in a period of the moft profound national tranquillity.

CHAP. XVI.

TRANSACTIONS IN ASIA, FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER, TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

WHEN Alexander was afked, on his death-bed, To whom he defired to bequeath his empire, his anfwer was—"To the moft worthy." Thefe indefinite words muft have been extremely foothing to the ambition of his fuperior officers. Men who had been accuftomed to rule with abfolute power, in diftant, extenfive, populous, and wealthy provinces, muft have been highly pleafed to find that their fovereign's will threw no bar in their

their way to dominion or power. They had all given proofs of their great military talents; and had, in return, been favoured with the approbation and friendſhip of the king; each, therefore, thought himſelf poſſeſſed of ſufficient merit to be placed in that exalted ſtation, which had been mentioned as the reward of *the moſt worthy*. There was one, however, who appeared to have an extraordinary claim to diſtinction: Perdiccas, to whom Alexander, in his laſt moments, had delivered his royal ſignet. Poſſeſſed of merit equal, at leaſt, to that of his competitors, this adventitious circumſtance might ſeem to have given him a ſuperior title to the vaſt object in queſtion. But his rivals were too proud to ſuffer an equal to be exalted above them, without throwing ſome embarraſſment in his way; and too fond of power to beſtow a title to an empire without advancing their own pretenſions. Accordingly, they all remonſtrated, and oppoſed Perdiccas's elevation: and finding that they were not likely to ſucceed in their private ſchemes by acting intereſtedly, they reſolved to overturn his, by acting juſtly, in ſupporting the claims of the lawful heirs to the crown. Theſe were, Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, by Barſine the widow of Memnon; and Aridæus, or, as he was afterwards called by the ſoldiery, Philip Aridæus, Alexander's only brother. There was little or

or no contest about Aridæus's right to a share in the sovereignty. He had been acknowledged to be *insane*; and that circumstance, perhaps, more than his consanguinity to the king, procured him an easy admission to the throne. Hercules's right was not so readily recognized; his mother was not of royal extraction: and as Alexander had always shewn a preference to Roxana and Statira, and had, moreover, omitted to mention Hercules in his last hours, his title was at once set aside. But the exclusive right to the throne was not to be granted to one person. It was, therefore, judged proper, by all the leading men, to divide the sovereignty between Aridæus and the child to be born of Roxana, should it prove a son. This appointment was easily acceded to; as the government that was naturally to be expected from it, would leave full scope for the exercise of avarice and ambition.

This settlement being made, the various competitors of Macedonian empire retired to their respective employments. Perdiccas had always been much about the person of the king; and having been reported to be at once a favourite and a friend to him, he found little difficulty in ingratiating himself with Aridæus and Roxana. Their countenance and favour were indispensably necessary to the execution of the deep plans which he had laid; and he spared no pains, and refrained from

from no act of violence, which promifed to procure them. He had at firft ftrenuoufly, though fecretly, oppofed the election of Aridæus; but finding that his influence, in the general council, was likely to be outweighed, he immediately faw the neceffity of difguifing his real fentiments. He therefore profeffed himfelf to be that prince's moft zealous friend and fupporter: and, in a little time, found himfelf poffeffed of all that he defired, but the empty name of royalty. He infinuated himfelf fo completely into the weak prince's favour, that he foon contrived to have thofe, who had been moft active in feating him on the throne, put to death: and in order to fecure the affection of the army, he perfuaded him to marry Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip, whofe mother had loft her life though his inftigation. Philip ftill ftood high in the good opinions of the foldiery; and there could have been no meafure adopted, that could bid fo fair to enfure their warm and fteady fupport, as an apparent inclination to continue the government of the empire in his family. He was alfo obliged to facrifice to the paffions of Roxana. By this time fhe had been delivered of a fon, whom fhe named Alexander; and as it was he who was to fhare the fovereignty with Aridæus, the friendfhip and intereft of his mother became highly important. A woman's jealoufy is ardent and implacable,

placable. Statira was great with child; and lest a son should have appeared to dispute the throne with Alexander, Roxana and Perdiccas conspire for her death. She falls accordingly; and in a very short time after, Parysatis, the sister of Statira, and widow of Hephœstion, suffers a like fate. Thus it was that Perdiccas endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Aridæus and Roxana. Macedon might be said to have had two kings; but, in fact, she had but one ruler: for there was no act, either legislative or executive, that did not owe its origin to Perdiccas. One would think, that he might have been content with the respect and power that were now conferred on him; but his views extended much farther than to the possession of temporary honour. He was determined to render the distinctions he had acquired as permanent as they were great and substantial; and for that purpose, it was requisite, that those men who were most likely to eclipse his glory, should be constrained to act on distant and separate theatres. This end was to be attained by a judicious distribution of the several governments and great offices of state. A council was holden, in which it was resolved, that the following arrangement should be made, in the name of the two kings. To Antipater and Craterus was assigned the government of the hereditary kingdom of Macedon,

Macedon, and of all Greece: the very ſame truſt which Antipater alone had received from the hands of Alexander the Great. To Lyſimachus fell Thrace and the Cherſoneſe. Eumenes had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt, and Antigonus Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Seleucus was appointed to command the royal cavalry; while Perdiccas contented himſelf with the title of captain of the houſhold troops. Conſidering the influence which Perdiccas had in the ſtate, this might have appeared to be but an humble appointment for him; but, though it wanted ſplendour, it conferred power; for it left him at full freedom to proſecute the purpoſes of his ambition, by placing him in the preſence of the kings, at the head of a truſty and well-diſciplined body of ſoldiers; while his rivals were forced to ſeek their fortunes in diſtant quarters of the empire.

Had the electors of the kings been ſincere in the profeſſions of eſteem and loyalty which they made, when they affected to pay ſo great a deference to juſtice and right, the ſteps which Perdiccas had taken would, in all probability, have been the moſt effectual, of all others, for ſecuring to himſelf the excluſive direction of the empire. But men who had great and powerful armies, ready to move at their nod, and who could command the treaſures of

of wealthy nations, were not very likely to act disinterestedly on such an occasion. In truth, every one hoped to find an early oportunity of throwing off the mask; and until that opportunity should offer, they were willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of kings, whose incapacity to inspect the proceedings of their servants, would allow time for their schemes to ripen.

The flames of sedition at length broke forth; when there appeared to be three distinct, active, and aspiring factions in the empire. One was headed by Perdiccas, and supported by Eumenes; another was headed by Ptolemy, and supported by Antipater and Craterus; and the third, which ultimately proved the most formidable of all, was raised and maintained by Antigonus alone. This chief seems to have had the most daring and intrepid mind of all the captains of Macedon. None ventured to speak his sentiments so freely as he, at the election of the kings, and he was the first who presumed to remonstrate with Perdiccas, on the new arrangement that had been made in the state. But it was Ptolemy who first disclaimed the power of the united Monarchs, and who prepared, in the face of the world, to act the part of an independent sovereign prince. Removed to so great a distance from the seat of empire, he could strengthen his army, and establish his government

as he pleafed, without interruption. Encouraged by thefe circumftances, he was haftening to render his poffeffions ftable and fecure, when Perdiccas judged it expedient, for the fafety of the Macedonian interefts, to march into Egypt with a powerful army. This commander croffed over into Afia; but, before he had nearly accomplifhed his march, he was informed that Antipater and Craterus were alfo in arms, and that they were purfuing the fame route which he himfelf had taken. The preparations which Ptolemy had already made were too alarming to admit of delay. Perdiccas, therefore, empowered or ordered Eumenes to watch the motions of Antipater and Craterus; while he, and the two kings, fhould direct their march towards Egypt. After undergoing confiderable fatigue, he reached the Egyptian frontier. Hoftilities were inftantly commenced, and frequent and vigorous efforts were made by the royal troops, againft the forces of Ptolemy, in vain. The foldiers, difcouraged at length by their ill fuccefs, and difgufted with the haughty and overbearing deportment of their general, mutinied, and flew him.

During thefe tranfactions, the other parties were not inactive. Antipater's main object was to check the growing power of Perdiccas, who, under pretext of guarding the rights of the kings,

appeared

appeared to be grafping at the fupremacy for himfelf. He divided his army into two bodies; the one he put under the command of Craterus, who was to make head againft Eumenes; and with the other he marched into Cilicia, that he might have it in his power to fuccour Ptolemy, in cafe the royal party fhould prevail.

Before he had time to learn any thing concerning the operations of the contending powers in Egypt, he had the mortification to hear of the death of Craterus. That general had fallen, and his army had been routed, chiefly through the artifices of Eumenes. Eumenes knowing how much his opponent was efteemed by the national troops, did not judge it fafe to permit them to take a ftation in the field, from whence they might have an opportunity of difcovering the favourite general, againft whom they were to act. In drawing up his troops, therefore, he took care to oppofe the foreigners that were in his army to the foldiers of Macedon; and by that cautious management, not a fingle foldier in his army knew by whom the enemy were led on, till Craterus was found breathlefs on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Philla, the only daughter of Antipater, was left a widow. From a two-fold caufe, therefore, Antipater muft have been afflicted by the lofs which he had fuftained. But

But he was not doomed to mourn long: a palliative was very ſoon brought him; and that was, the news of the death of Perdiccas. In conſequence of that important event, Antipater was ſolicited to join the army in Syria, in order to make new arrangements for the government of the empire. He repaired thither with all convenient expedition; and upon his arrival, was, by general conſent, appointed protector of the kings.

This was a fatal blow to the intereſt of the friends of Perdiccas. Eurydice, who owed her preſent exaltation to the interpoſition of the late protector, ſet herſelf to diſturb the quiet of his ſucceſſor; but ſhe ſoon found his authority too great, to be effected by any exertion of her's. She therefore began to ſoften in her reſentment; and in a little time, ſhe tendered him not only her ſupport, but her confidence. Antipater thinking it requiſite to reviſit Macedon, loſt no time in adjuſting matters in Aſia. He found Eumenes determined in his purpoſe of proſecuting the war againſt the enemies of Perdiccas, becauſe he believed them to be the enemies of the true intereſts of Macedon. He therefore appointed Antigonus to continue hoſtilities with Eumenes, in the name of the kings. He gave his ſon Caſſander the command of a very conſiderable army; with ſecret injunctions to guard, with a jealous eye, the pro-

ceedings of Antigonus. Of that officer's valour and conduct, he entertained not a doubt; but he prudently thought, that he had too bold a genius to be conftantly awed by the irrefolute and tardy commands of a diftracted and diftant government. Matters being thus fettled, he, together with the kings, fet out for Macedon.

Antigonus now prepared to act with uncommon vigour againft Eumenes. He had every incentive to difpatch; his temper was naturally fuited to action; he was diffatisfied with the manner in which the great departments of the ftate were filled; he bore no good will to Eumenes, and he had the fanction of royal authority for taking the moft effectual meafures to crufh him. A battle foon enfued, in which Eumenes was betrayed by one of his officers, and completely difcomfited; but that difcomfiture was productive of one of the chief glories of his life. Having rallied his men, he efcaped the purfuit of his enemies, by ftriking into another road. He returned to the field of battle unperceived; burned the bodies of the flain, and covered their afhes with a large mound of earth: he then felected fix hundred of his ableft foldiers, and with them returned to Nora, a caftle bordering on Cappadocia. His ingenuity and his exertions, while in that fortrefs, have been very juftly armired. The only provifions which he had,

were corn, falt, and water. On thefe he held out againft the whole ftrength of Antigonus's army, for a complete year, and at length forced him to quit the fiege.

A very important revolution had, by this time, taken place in Europe. Antipater had been cut off by a violent difeafe; and Polyperchon, whom he had appointed to fucceed him in the high offices of governor-general of Macedon, and protector of the kings, had afcended the throne. This man was deftitute of refolution, of wifdom, and of probity; a proficient in nothing but the mere forms of tranfacting bufinefs, and in the ceremonials of a court. His country had, of courfe, reafon to look for oftentation and fplendor, inftead of politic fchemes, and beneficial acts of legiflation.

It was not long before he evinced the extent of his capacity for conducting the empire. On the death of Antipater a general council was held, in order to confult for the general good. The firft refolution taken by that court, was one propofed and ftrenuoufly fupported by Polyperchon. The fubftance of it was, That Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, fhould be recalled, and appointed to fuperintend the rearing of Alexander, the fon of Roxana. This refolution was extremely impolitic, and full of danger. For it was to place in an important fituation a woman, whofe alarm-

ing interferences in govenrnment had determined former governors to keep her conſtantly at a diſtance from the ſeat of empire. She had reſided for ſeveral years at Epirus; and one of the laſt admonitions which Antipater gave to Polyperchon was, never to permit her to return to Macedon.

But Polyperchon was not guided by the prudent counſel of his predeceſſor. Not only did he allow Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon, but made her his chief confidant, and, in a little while, virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. Though a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, yet ſhe was not deſtitute of diſcernment. The deep and often fatal intrigues in which ſhe had been concerned, had taught her the knowledge of men. That knowledge was exerted on the occaſion of which we are now ſpeaking; for inſtead of nominating to the chief command in Aſia, one whoſe diſſolute morals promiſed fair to promote any arbitrary ſcheme which the court might propoſe, ſhe appointed Eumenes, who was the moſt loyal and ſteady friend which the royal family had. There was much wiſdom in employing ſuch a character as Eumenes at that critical juncture. The power of Antigonus had for a conſiderable time been increaſing; one or two more ſucceſsful campaigns would,

would, in all likelihood, have placed him above the reach of oppofition.

On receiving the letters which conferred on him the fupreme command in the eaft, Eumenes made hafte to acquit himfelf with credit. He had a powerful rival to contend with. Being inferior to him with regard to the number of his foldiers, and alfo in point of influence in the Afiatic provinces, he was under the neceffity of employing the whole refources of his inventive genius. He did fo: and he might have been victorious in the end, had not his friends deferted him. He made a confiderable augmentation of his forces; and by granting appointments, and conferring honours, foon found means to gain over to his caufe many of the moft powerful officers in the oppofite intereft. The Argyrafpidæ, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who had been prefented with filver fhields by Alexander the Great, in confideration of their valiant exploits, and who were therefore held in high eftimation by their fellow-foldiers, foon became attached to his party. This was looked upon as no flight mark of his fuperior addrefs, and favour with the military. He was peculiarly careful to avoid giving offence to the higher rank of officers, well knowing, that men who had withftood fo many changes in government, who had fo much influence with the foldiery, and who, moreover,

had it in their power to difappoint his meafures, by endeavouring to fecond thofe of his opponent, could not be affronted but at the expence of his honour and fuccefs. The firft ftep which he took to prevent their ideas of precedency, and their mutual jealoufy of being fupplanted in their commander's favour, from difturbing the peace of the army, was, to caufe a pavillion, with a throne in the midft of it, to be erected; around which throne his officers were to affemble, when any public bufinefs was to be tranfacted. This pavillion was after the manner of that which Alexander ufed on a fimilar occafion. Eumenes pretended that he was directed to do fo in a dream. The expedient doubtlefs was a good one. It might anfwer the purpofe for which it was intended; but while it did fo, it demonftrated the precarious ground on which Macedonian commanders then ftood.

Eumenes was enabled to keep the field againft Antigonus for about three years, in which time he generally had the advantage. Antigonus at length, provoked by the obftinacy, and filled with apprehenfions at the enterprifing fpirit of his antagonift, refolved to make one defperate, and, if poffible, decifive effort. He refolved to attack Eumenes in his winter-quarters. Peuceftus, commander of the royal horfe, had fecretly gone over to the interefts of the enemy. When Antigonus

gonus made his attack, Peuceſtus managed his command in ſuch a way, as to render the horſe of little or no ſervice to the army to which they belonged. The infantry made a brave and ſucceſsful ſtand againſt the enemy. The phalanx of Antigonus was routed by them; and had their exertions been ſupported by the cavalry, Antigonus's fortune would that day have been reverſed. But they were left to combat alone. Antigonus improved the advantage, and wheeling about upon their rear, threw them ſomewhat into confuſion. Still, however, they kept the field, and by their intrepidity, kept the iſſue of the battle in ſuſpenſe, till they were informed that a detachment from that part of the enemy's army which had been oppoſed to Peuceſtus, had fallen upon the baggage, and made themſelves maſters of their wives, their children, and of all the treaſures which they had won in the courſe of their Aſiatic wars. This news inſpired the whole army with rage, reſentment, and grief. They were incenſed not only againſt Peuceſtus, by whoſe baſeneſs they had been betrayed, but againſt Eumenes, under whoſe command their private fortunes and the public cauſe had ſuſtained ſo inſupportable a blow. They meditated revenge on both: but firſt of all it appeared requiſite to try to recover their families and effects. In a mean and ſubmiſſive manner, therefore, they ap-

plied to Antigonus to reſtore the fortunes which his arms had acquired. Antigonus readily agreed to grant them that requeſt, and any other they ſhould make, provided they would forthwith deliver into his hands Eumenes, "who was not a "Macedonian by birth, and who had been de- "clared an enemy to the public."

Theſe inſinuations, we may ſuppoſe, would find ready admittance into the minds of men who were already diſſatisfied with the perſon againſt whom they were made. The greater part of the army fell in with the propoſition of Antigonus; and, among the firſt, were the famous Argyraſpidæ. Eumenes was ſeized; his hands were tied behind his back; and his ſoldiers were carrying him to Antigonus, when he beſought them to grant him leave to ſpeak. They allowed him a hearing. But though his ſpeech was well calculated to ſoften their hearts; though it unfolded to them the dangers they were about to bring on the ſtate, by rendering Antigonus abſolute; and reproached them with the cruelty and injuſtice of delivering to his executioner a general, who had undergone ſo many toils for their honour, and for the aggrandizement of the empire, ſtill they remained unmoved. He entreated them to reſcue him from the diſgrace of being put to death by the hands of an enemy, by doing that laſt office to him

him themſelves. But he entreated them in vain. He was conducted to Antigonus's camp, his hands bound in the manner we have mentioned; and, after a few days confinement, was brought forth and executed.

The late ſignal ſucceſs of Antigonus opened a wide field for his ambition. It inſpired him with inſolence and pride, and filled the neighbouring princes with conſternation and diſmay. To ward off the misfortunes which ſuch proſperous events might have occaſioned, thoſe very commanders who had lately oppoſed him, now haſtened to make their ſubmiſſion, and to proffer their aid and ſupport. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his ſuperiority, but was backward in aſſuring them of his protection. In truth, it was not his intention to protect them. The proſpect of riſing among the princes of the earth, which then began to dawn, had rendered him intereſted and ſelfiſh. The theatre on which he then appeared, extenſive as it was, exhibited too many actors for any one of them to become illuſtrious: it was, therefore, his intention to leſſen their number. Several of the inferior governors were ſacrificed; and his reſentment and ſuſpicions would have been allayed, had not Seleucus ſtill ſtood in the way.

Seleucus

Seleucus had been appointed governor of Babylon by Antipater. He was an able and an enterprising commander. He had always professed himself the friend of Antigonus; and none that knew him ever thought of questioning the sincerity of his professions. But Antigonus was become a tyrant; and tyranny admits not of lasting friendship. It vexed him to see any Asiatic commander holding an appointment not immediately derived from him. He therefore advanced to Babylon, in order to extort the submission of the governor. The method he took to compel Seleucus to come to a speedy explanation was, his requesting an exact statement of the revenues of his province. At this request Seleucus was astonished. He told Antigonus that he had been invested with the command and direction of his province by the court of Macedon, and that, of course, he was accountable to none for his proceedings but to that court, or to those whom it might delegate. Antigonus persisted in his right to have satisfaction, and began to threaten. Seleucus thought it was now high time for him to be gone. With the privacy and assistance of some of his officers, he got together a small detachment of horse, and in the night quitted Babylon and fled into Egypt. He well knew that it would have been in vain to have attempted to oppose Antigonus with arms; and perceiving

perceiving with what unprecedented cruelty other governors had been treated, he wifely determined to feek fafety in flight.

Thefe revolutions were the means by which Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, and Caffander, were again brought forth into public notice. The laft of thefe chiefs foon came to act a very diftinguifhed part among the governors of the Macedonian empire. The whole influence of Antigonus's family had almoft fallen before his power. It was not long before the report of Antigonus's victories had fpread itfelf over every province then under the dominion of Macedon. In Europe the difmemberment of the Empire was dreaded; and in Afia and Africa little elfe was looked for than the reign of a defpotic prince. All were alarmed, and ready to liften to the advice of any one who was capable of projecting any plan for their relief. Ptolemy was the firft who evinced his zeal in thwarting the meafures of Antigonus. The news which Seleucus had brought to him concerning that bold commander, confirmed the apprehenfions he had formerly entertained of his views. To embarrafs and crufh him the more effectually, he leagued himfelf with Lyfimachus and Caffander, who joined cordially in a wifh to overthrow his power. They were preparing to commence hoftilities, when Antigonus refolved to fhew them that he

he was not intimidated by their preparations. He collected his forces with all poſſible ſpeed; and, before the enemy were aware, the greater part of the provinces of Cœloſyria and Phœnicia had ſubmitted to his arms. Finding that his conqueſts could not eaſily be extended without a fleet to co-operate with his land forces, he ſet every hand to the building of ſhips; and before the end of the year he was ready to put to ſea with five hundred ſail. The firſt expedition of this armament was againſt Tyre, which opened its gates to him after a ſiege of near four months.

Whilſt theſe operations were going forward, the other belligerent powers were up in arms. Caſſander had led his forces towards the coaſts of the Leſſer Aſia, and had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral provinces. The news of this reaching Antigonus, he judged it neceſſary to haſten to the relief of thoſe provinces. In a ſhort time, therefore, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Caſſander's army; but no action took place, Caſſander being ſenſible of the inferiority of his troops, in reſpect to numbers, to thoſe of the enemy.

At the ſame time very vigorous exertions were making againſt Antigonus in another quarter. Ptolemy having levied a formidable army, had reached Gaza, and attacked and defeated Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, who had been left to

command

command in his father's abſence. But Demetrius ſoon regained the honour which he had loſt. Having come up with Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals in the Upper Syria, he won a complete victory over him; and in a ſhort time Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, which had been wreſted from Demetrius by Ptolemy, ſubmitted to the power and government of the family of Antigonus.

The defeat of Demetrius, at Gaza, enabled Ptolemy to ſupport Seleucus in his claims on Babylon. Ptolemy was happy to find ſo able a confederate; he therefore furniſhed him with a ſmall body of troops (all, however, that he could ſpare), and with them Seleucus marched to attempt the recovery of his government. The army which he then commanded did not amount to fourteen hundred men, and he was to conduct them through that extenſive country which lies between Phœnicia and Babylon, many diſtricts of which were peopled by men in the intereſt of Antigonus. He accompliſhed his march; and on his approach to the city, the whole inhabitants ran out to meet him, and to welcome his appearance among them. Thus was Seleucus reſtored to a command which his abilities and virtues gave him a high title to; and to a people who reſpected and loved him, on account of the prudence and moderation which he had evinced ever ſince he had been ſet over them.

The

The attachment which his people bore to him, added to the vigour of his own mind, fecured to him, through the remainder of his days, the poffeffion of Babylon, with little interruption, and of fome neighbouring ftates.

Antigonus and Demetrius were now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian empire, and a general combination was formed againft them. But it was not found eafy to humble their power. Their activity and refources feemed to be inexhauftible. In Greece the Ætolians and Epirots, fpurred on and fupported by them, had taken the field againft Caffander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into the Lower Afia, and fent his fleets to reduce the Ægean iflands that were in league with Antigonus. To both of thefe objects, therefore, Antigonus was forced to attend. Lyfimachus and Caffander, on the other hand, were making depredations on the provinces fituated on the banks of the Hellefpont and Bofphorus: there, alfo, the aid of Antigonus or Demetrius was neceffary. In fhort, they were befet with foes on every hand, and they maintained their caufe with an aftonifhing degree of vigour and fuccefs.

The period was now at hand when the Macedonian empire was for ever to be torn from the family of Philip. Its various governors had, for a time,

time, been ſuffered to act without controul; or, if there exiſted any controul, it was that of one general over another, which neither could brook, becauſe each thought himſelf the equal of his rival. Their ambitious views had long been foſtering: the commotions of the ſtate had quickened their growth; and, in the pride or the proſpect of victory, they were not likely ſoon to ſubſide. It was not, however, till after a conſiderable time, that any of them dared to avow his intentions. Every declaration of war, and every overture for peace, was made in the name of the young king Alexander; and if a prince was dethroned, or a country ravaged, it was on account of him and the royal family. Theſe artifices were the more remarkable, that they were made at the very period, and by thoſe very men, by whoſe perfidy the royal family was daily mouldering away. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had lately been murdered by Caſſander; and Cleopatra, his ſiſter, had fallen a victim to the ambition of Antigonus. Caſſander having uſurped the government, it was not difficult to foreſee what would be the end of Roxana and the king her ſon. They were looked upon by Caſſander as obſtacles to his power, and in a ſhort time they were put to death by his direction. At his inſtigation alſo, Hercules, the ſon of Alexander, by Barſine, was ſecretly murdered.

After

After the perpetration of fuch barbarous deeds, it was vain to hope that mankind would any longer be impofed upon. The generality of the leading men were convinced of this, and they refolved to throw off a veil through which every eye could pierce. Antigonus was the firft to declare his views. He was emboldened by the fucceffes of his fon Demetrius. All Greece had acknowledged the force of Demetrius's arms; the ifland of Cyprus had been reduced by him; and the Egyptian fleet, commanded by Ptolemy, had been totally defeated. On receiving the news of the reduction of Cyprus, and, above all, of the overthrow of Ptolemy, Antigonus was tranfported with joy, and iffued out orders, that he and his fon fhould forthwith be proclaimed kings of Syria.

So pleafing an example was not likely to want followers. Accordingly, Seleucus and Lyfimachus, without taking time to confult the inclinations of thofe whom they governed, gave orders that they fhould be faluted kings. The other leading men refolved to accept of the fame honourable diftinction, as foon as the fituation of their affairs would permit.

The Syrian kings, now inflamed with the love of dominion, mark out Egypt as the firft victim of their power and ambition. Demetrius is appointed admiral of the fleet; Antigonus himfelf takes the command

command of the land army. A ſtorm at ſea, the ſultry heats of the deſerts between Syria and Egypt, and the vigilance of Ptolemy, diſappointed the ambitious views of Antigonus and Demetrius. They quitted Egypt; and, as the only means of ſafety, made a haſty retreat into Syria. Ptolemy, after this repulſe of ſuch formidable enemies, aſſumed the title and the dignity of a king.

The Syrian princes, in order to redeem the honour of their arms, reſolved to carry them againſt the Rhodians, on pretence that they had furniſhed ſupplies to Ptolemy in his late conteſt with Syria. The Rhodians had for many years been renowned for their ſkill in naval affairs. Their commerce was conſiderable, their ſoil rich and fertile; the conqueſt of Rhodes, therefore, would preſent to the invaders a plentiful harveſt, Demetrius having made good his landing on that iſland, ſat down before the capital, determined to exhauſt all his ingenuity, in order to reduce it to obedience. Of all the princes of his time, he is ſaid to have been at once the moſt ingenious, the moſt profound, and the moſt intrepid. In the conſtruction of warlike engines his genius ſhone forth with particular luſtre. It was from the amazing efficacy of ſome of theſe that he acquired the name of Poliorcetes, the Stormer of Cities. The Rhodians, ſupported by their numerous fleets, and furniſhed

with ftores from Greece and from Egypt, withftood every attack with firmnefs, and ultimately obliged the befiegers to draw off their forces. The high fpirit of Demetrius was mortified by the unexpected refiftance of the Rhodians, and the ingenuity and conftancy with which they oppofed all the firmnefs of his refolution and the refources of his invention.

The folicitations that were made to Demetrius by the Athenians, to come and refcue them from the oppreffion of Caffander, were gladly received by him in fuch a juncture. He found his reputation declining every hour that he remained in Rhodes, and was extremely happy to undertake an expedition, the urgency of which might ferve as a pretext for his having abandoned an object for which fuch great and formidable preparations had been made. In Greece his arms were attended with more fuccefs. He foon forced Caffander to raife the fiege of Athens; purfued him in his retreat; and, having come up with him, threw his army into diforder, and obliged them to fly with precipitation into Macedon. The refult of this triumph was, the fubmiffion of the greater part of Greece. All the cities, from the ftraits of Thermopylæ to the ifthmus of Corinth, yielded to his prevailing power; and alfo many cities in the Peloponnefus.

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The Grecians, ſunk into effeminacy and ſervility, thought that the interpoſition of Demetrius in their favour had laid them under an eternal obligation to him, and that they were in gratitude bound to make him the greateſt and earlieſt return in their power. They therefore ſtudied to feed his appetites, and to gratify his paſſions. There was no ſenſual indulgence with the means of which they did not furniſh him. The orators made the moſt fulſome and ridiculous panegyrics on his virtues and his victories. The nation at large complimented him on his being the reſtorer of the liberties of an oppreſſed people; and, to complete his honours, a ſolemn convention of the ſtates declared him generaliſſimo of all Greece.

Had Antigonus diſcovered and purſued his true intereſt, he would have availed himſelf of the defeat of Caſſander, to enter into ſome beneficial alliance with that commander. But inſtead of that, he rejected with diſdain all his advances towards reconciliation. He would not even enter into a treaty of peace with him, though he condeſcended to aſk it in the moſt ſuppliant manner. The only terms he would grant were unconditional ſubmiſſion, and a total renunciation of every claim on the kingdom of Macedon.

This impolitic inſolence did not go unchaſtiſed. Caſſander's influence in Europe was ſtill great,

and he had the eſteem of ſeveral of the eaſtern princes. But the chief advantage he had over Antigonus was, the antipathy which all their neighbours bore to the Syrian kings. Many of them had already ſmarted under the rod of their oppreſſion, and all of them had much to fear from their ambitious and tyrannical principles. They therefore joined, avowedly and cordially, in checking the growth of a power which threatened one day to overwhelm them. The confederacy againſt Antigonus and Demetrius was compoſed of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Egyptians, together with ſome inferior ſtates. Lyſimachus was appointed to the command of the Thracians, and a detachment of Macedonians; and Seleucus to that of the Egyptians, together with the houſhold troops, which had been put under his direction by Perdiccas. Lyſimachus made all poſſible haſte in conducting his army into Aſia. Before the winter he had reached Phrygia. He made ſeveral offers of accommodation with Antigonus, who was then in the ſame province; but this prince was too confident of ſucceſs to liſten to his propoſals.

Early in the ſpring news was brought to Antigonus that Seleucus was approaching rapidly, at the head of a powerful army. On receiving that intelligence, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Demetrius, to requeſt of him to march to his aſſiſtance

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as quickly as poſſible. Demetrius obeyed his father's command; and had arrived in Phrygia a very ſhort time, when it was reported that Seleucus had joined Lyſimachus. Thus united, the Syrian army conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants; that of the confederates of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, and an hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonus, who never had been ſeen to ſhrink from any form of danger, is ſaid to have betrayed ſeveral marks of fear on this occaſion. The eventful battle was fought near to Ipſus, an inconſiderable town in the Province of Phrygia. It were needleſs to record all the manœuvres and feats of valour to which it gave riſe, it will be enough to ſay, that both armies behaved gallantly, and acted with a degree of zeal and energy which would have done honour to a better cauſe. The brave Antigonus fell; the Syrians were completely routed; and Demetrius with much difficulty effected his eſcape, at the head of nine thouſand men. The ſucceſs of the confederates is aſcribed to the good conduct of Seleucus, who took advantage of the warmth of Demetrius, in purſuing with too much ardour a body of the enemy

which he had put to flight. With Antigonus fell the greatneſs of the Syrian empire.

Antigonus, when he was ſlain, was in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was a perſon of noble extraction. He eſpouſed Stratonice, the daughter of Correus, a young lady of exquiſite beauty; and by her had two ſons, Demetrius and Philip. Philip died in early youth; Demetrius, as we have already ſeen, was the pride and ſupport of his father's days. There was no commander in the ſervice of Macedon who had been more in the field than Antigonus: his whole life had been a ſcene of activity and peril; and he had on all occaſions, diſplayed the utmoſt zeal and bravery. He had riſen from being an officer in the army of Alexander, to be the lord of ſome of the faireſt provinces in Aſia.

CHAP. XV.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER, TO THE FINAL OVERTHROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP.

CASSANDER, apprehending the perilous ſituation in which he and all the friends of the late adminiſtration of Macedon were placed, reſolved

resolved to take someprecautions for their safety. He began to reflect on the character of Polyperchon, which being that of a credulous and inhuman man, determined him to act with equal circumspection and dispatch. Besides, he was dissatisfied with the disposition of affairs which his father had made; and was stimulated by his ambition to attempt the recovery of a command, to which he reckoned that he had the best right. From these, and some other considerations of a similar nature, he was led to adopt the following expedient:—He engaged a number of his most respectable friends to accompany him into the country, to enjoy the diversion of hunting. When they had got a considerable distance from court, he assembled them together, and disclosed his mind. He told them, that his true reason for having brought them to that place was, that he might have the advantage of their opinions, in a matter in which their lives and fortunes were deeply concerned. What healluded to was, the arrangement that had lately been made in the conduct of public affairs, and the consequences that were likely to flow from that arrangement. He then expatiated at great length, on the dangers that threatened thenation, from thejunction of interests that had taken place between the protector and Olympias, the ancient and implacable enemy of

 Antipater

Antipater, and of all his friends. He ſet before them the obligations which they lay under to obviate the misfortunes which might be expected to riſe out of that union; and, that they might join with the greater alacrity in doing ſo, he ſtated the motives which he thought would induce Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus, to become the enemies of Polyperchon. It is not known whether he then avowed his intentions of ſupplanting the protector, or whether he ſpoke of only providing for the ſecurity of his friends. At any rate, his remonſtrances procured him many powerful partizans, in confidence of whoſe ſupport he reſolved to act independently and openly.

In the mean time Polyperchon was buſied in new-modelling the government of Greece. He had held a council of ſtate, in which it was reſolved to diſplace all the governors who had been nominated by Antipater, and to reſtore democracy throughout that country. The edict, which was publiſhed on that occaſion, is to be found in the works of Diodorus. The manner in which it is written gives us the higheſt opinion of the genius of the Macedonians of that period. The body of the edict contains ſeveral great ſtretches of the royal prerogative; while the preamble abounds with proteſtations of the court's having no other

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end in view, by the meaſure enjoined, than to reſtore liberty to the Grecian people.

This proclamation, gracious as it pretended to be, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was, to break the power of the late governors: but the governors did not chuſe to ſubmit to a decree, by which they were evidently to be ſufferers; they heſitated for a while, and then had recourſe to Caſſander for relief. The Athenian being of more conſequence to Macedon than any other Grecian ſtate, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of Athens. Had Nicanor complied readily, all the ends of the edict would certainly have been gained; the reſt of the governors would have followed his example: but, inſtead of falling in with the wiſhes of the court, he endeavoured to ſet their power at defiance. He at firſt queſtioned the authority of Polyperchon: when Olympias, ſome time after, wrote to him on the ſubject, he deviſed new cauſes of procraſtination; and he continued to do ſo, till he had ſufficiently ſtrengthened the garriſon at Munichia, which he commanded. In that ſituation he might have held out till Caſſander could have had time to bring him ſuccours: but he was now able to do more than protect his fort. Inſtead, therefore, of quitting the Munichian fort, as the proclamation required, or of barely defending it,

as his friends expected, he sallied forth, and made himself master of the Pyræus.

The people, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the resistance made by Nicanor to their beneficent deliverers, determined to take an active part in the dispute. Their fury, always violent, and for the most part misguided, turned upon the patriotic Phocion, and a few more distinguished citizens. Their ostensible reasons for these outrages were, that these men had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, by which Greece had been deprived of her democracy; and that they were still in the habit of consulting with Nicanor, who was the avowed enemy of the people's liberty. These reasons, groundless as they were, effected the ruin of Phocion, and his friends. Being immediately proscribed, they threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was then entering Attica, at the head of a powerful army. By this time, Polyperchon himself was at hand: he had left Macedon, accompanied by Philip Aridæus and was hastening to join the troops under his command to those led on by his son. Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other unhappy exiles relate their story, was convinced of the injustice of the decree, by which they had been expelled the city. He sent them

them to his father, with letters of recommendation from himſelf, and attended by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, the old and intimate friend of Polyperchon. But, in a little time, arrived deputies from Athens, charging them with high treaſon. Polyperchon was, at firſt, ſomewhat puzzled how to act, between the very oppoſite repreſentations of the Athenians and his ſon. But intereſted motives prevailed over thoſe of juſtice and humanity. He perceived, that to thwart the Athenians, would not only alienate their minds from his government, but give them ground to believe, that he was not ſincere in the profeſſions he had publiſhed in the late edict. He therefore cauſed Phocion and his friends to be chained, and ſent back to Athens. The meſſage which accompanied them was to this effect: "Though he was perſuaded that they were "traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the "Athenians, as a free people." Phocion deſired to know whether he was to be proceeded againſt, according to the regular forms of law? Being told that he was, he added, "How was that poſſible, "if no hearing was to be allowed him?" Perceiving, from the violence of the popular clamour, that no opportunity of defence was to be granted him, he exclaimed, "As for myſelf, I confeſs the "crime of which I am accuſed, and ſubmit chearfully to the ſentence of the law; but conſider,

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"O ye Athenians, what it is that these men have "done, that they should thus be involved in the "same calamity with me." The people called out vehemently, "They are your accomplices, "and we need no farther ground of accusation." A decree was then drawn up, and read, by which Phocion, Nicocles, Atreudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles, were condemned to suffer. These men were present: the following were doomed to the same untimely end, though absent, viz. Demetrius, Callimedon, and Charicles. Many of the people moved, that Phocion should be put to the torture before he was executed; but that punishment appearing too severe, he was put to death, without being tortured. When the votes were collecting, many of his enemies were seen with garlands on their heads and demonstrating all the satisfaction they could have felt, on the discomfiture of a powerful public enemy. A friend took occasion to ask Phocion, as they were bearing him to the place of execution, what commands he had to leave for his son: "Only this," replied he very coolly, "that he forget how ill the Athenians "treated his father."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed, even after they had deprived him of his life. They passed a decree, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person subjected

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to a penalty, who ſhould furniſh fire for his funeral pile. One Conopion conveyed the corpſe a little beyond Eleuſina, where he borrowed fire of a Megarian woman, and burned it. A Megarian matron, who attended on that occaſion, raiſed an humble monument on the ſpot, in memory of the unfortunate orator; and having carried home his aſhes, which ſhe had previouſly collected with great care, ſhe buried them under her hearth; putting up, in the mean time, this prayer to her houſhold gods: "To you, O ye deities, who protect this "place, do I commit the precious remains of the "moſt excellent Phocion; protect them, I beſeech "you, from every inſult, and deliver them one "day to be depoſited in the ſepulchre of his an- "ceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall have become "wiſer." A ſhort time only had intervened, when the prayer of the pious matron was fulfilled. The Athenians, as in former inſtances of a ſimilar kind, began to abate of their fury, and to have their eyes opened to the truth. They recollected the many ſervices which the ſtate had derived from the ſuperior wiſdom of Phocion's counſels; and on that recollection, they could not but wonder at the part they had acted. They decreed for the victim of their rage a ſtatue of braſs; they ordered his aſhes to be brought back to Athens, at the public expence; and paſſed an act, by which all his

his accufers were to be put to death. Agnonides, who had been a leader in the plot againft Phocion, was feized and executed. Epicurus and Demophilus fled; but Phocion's fon overtook them, and revenged the death of his father. This is faid to have been the only meretorious deed which that young man ever performed. Entirely deftitute of his father's virtues, he poffeffed but a fmall portion of his abilities: in the hiftory of his country, therefore, his other actions are defervedly forgotten.

The integrity of Phocion, his magnanimity, and his fober, fteady zeal for the welfare of his country, are not furpaffed by thofe of the moft patriotic of all his countrymen. Without aiming at the favour of the great, he often dared to ftem the popular tide; and without being deterred by the threats of the people, he fometimes ventured to efpoufe the caufe of the few who ftood high, but alone. He had as much probity as his illuftrious competitor Demofthenes; and he wanted all that enthufiafm which fometimes threatened to miflead him. His oppofition to the moft popular men of his time, has been the caufe of his making fo diftinguifhed a figure in the ftate, and conftitutes the moft ftriking feature in his character. It would not be difficult to fhew, that the motives from which he acted, were always prudent and commendable. The principle on which he oppofed Demofthenes,

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when that orator would have ftirred up the Athenians to refift the government of Macedon, proves at once the greatnefs of his wifdom, and the extenfivenefs of his knowledge of the real condition of the rival ftates at that period. It was this :— "Since the Athenians are no longer able to fill "their wonted glorious fphere, let them adopt "counfels fuited to their abilities; and endeavour "to court the friendfhip of a power, which they "cannot provoke but to their ruin." Thefe were his own words. The principle on which he proceeded in that laft ftruggle which coft him his life, argued an equal degree of prudence and temperate patriotifm. He was condemned for keeping up a correfpondence with Nicanor, who continued to hold out after Polyperchon had tendered Athens her freedom. Had that grant of the protectors been fuch as promifed to confer happinefs on the ftate, Phocion would have fided with the multitude; but he well knew, that the meaning of it was merely to divide the power of Caffander's party; and as the protector did not immediately fupport his edict by arms, it was plain that it could not take effect while Nicanor remained hoftile to it. Befides, if Athens was not to reap any advantage from the decree, it would have been extreme folly to have fuperadded to her other evils, that of an inteftine broil between her governor and

and her citizens. He was the only Athenian who was able occafionally to draw the refpect both of his countrymen and of their enemies. He was a rational and a *peaceable* patriot; he wifhed for the aggrandizement of his native land; but he was anxious that its grandeur fhould flow from thofe ingenious arts, which fpring from national tranquillity.

Whilft thefe things were doing, Caffander, who faw no profpect of immediate fuccefs by the greateft effort of all the power he could then command in Europe, judged it proper to look for aid in another quarter. He had been induftrious to conciliate the affections of his Macedonian friends, and to engage them warmly in his caufe: having done fo, he thought he had reafon to hope for a happy iffue to his affairs. He knew how ready Antigonus would be to oppofe the meafures of any perfon holding the invidious office of *protector of the kings*; to him, therefore, he refolved to fly for fuccour. Indeed, his own perfonal fafety required that he fhould then quit Macedon. The Syrian king received Caffander with the greateft affability and kindnefs. He did not lay him under the neceffity of repeating his requeft. He hated Polyperchon; and to execute vengeance on him, he faw, would be the fhorteft and fureft road to the conqueft of Afia, the grand object of his ambition.

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The troops which Caſſander received were not numerous; in the hands, however, of a man, animated by ſo enterprizing a ſpirit as he poſſeſſed, they were capable of atchieving great exploits. He ſet ſail for Athens, and arriving in the Pyræus with his little fleet, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor. With regard to the new adminiſtration, Nicanor was quite of the ſame mind with Caſſander. He had received his government from Antipater; he had been the firſt to oppoſe Polyperchon's edict; he had been expoſed to danger on account of that oppoſition; he was, therefore, the moſt likely perſon to ſecond the views of his intrepid viſitor.

Polyperchon hearing of the arrival of Caſſander, reſolved to make a vigorous effort both by ſea and land. He aſſembled a powerful army, and marched directly into Attica. This portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands; the numbers which followed the protector ſoon produced ſcarcity of proviſions, and that ſcarcity determined him to alter his purpoſe of immediately ſubduing his enemies. He gave to Alexander, his ſon, a force ſufficient to keep Caſſander in awe: and with the reſt of his troops he moved towards Peloponneſus, where his opponent had many friends.

By this time the fleet commanded by Clitus had ſet ſail to meet that of Caſſander; the latter was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle took place, in which this commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himſelf to flight. But his ſhips being refitted, and fully manned, by the addition of a body of light troops ſent over by Antigonus, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the enemy. He put to ſea; and coming up with Clytus, as he lay at anchor at Byzantium, he obtained a complete victory. A ſhort time after this battle Clytus was ſlain, by an inſurrection of the ſoldiers of Lyſimachus.

Meanwhile, Polyperchon had commenced his operations in the Peloponneſus. He was determined to ſee his edict obeyed, or to inflict the puniſhment which it threatened in caſe of diſobedience. Many had been put to death who had not readily complied with the terms it propoſed. So ſevere and unreaſonable were his proceedings, that he condemned many perſons, merely becauſe they had held offices under the protectorſhip of Antipater. He was now acting like a tyrant; and every province through which he paſſed, was a ſcene of confuſion and blood. The Megalopolitans were the moſt conſiderable body of men, who reſiſted Polyperchon's decree. The magiſtrates and people having conſulted on the affair, reſolved unanimouſly

unanimoufly not to alter their form of government. Such a refolution was treafon in the eyes of the protector: he declared it to be not only an open infult on his authority, but a tacit acknowledgment of the Megalopolitans being the abettors of Caffander's rebellion, and he denounced exemplary vengeance againft them. The Megalopolitans comprehended his meaning fully; but their counfels had been taken maturely, and were not to be eafily overturned. They fortified their city; removed their effects, and all thofe perfons who could not affift in defending their lives; and to the number of fifteen thoufand, retired within the walls, determined to make a defperate refiftance.

Polyperchon made good his threats: he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Aridæus, the king, and fupported by a large army. His engineers were exceedingly active; before the befieged imagined that the enemy had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and thrown down. Polyperchon then made an attack, which was well fupported by both fides; but the Megalopolitans had the advantage. On this occafion, the conduct of the Megalopolitan wives and youths was very remarkable: while their friends had advanced to the breach to face the enemy, they had laboured with all their might, and had almoft completed an in-

trenchment of earth and rubbiſh within the breach. This repulſe did not diſcourage the protector. He reſolved to renew the aſſault, and to avail himſelf of his elephants. The thought of being attacked by thoſe animals greatly diſtreſſed the beſieged: they were, however, ſoon delivered from uneaſineſs on that account. There happened to be among them a man named Damides, who had ſerved under Alexander, and who had learned from experience the deſtructive arts of his profeſſion. He undertook to render the elephants perfectly uſeleſs to the beſiegers, and the ſtratagem he uſed was this:—he cauſed long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, with ſpikes in the ends of them, and over the ſpikes he threw ſome rubbiſh, to prevent the enemy from diſcovering the plot: this was done all along the inſide of the breach. The citizens were drawn up between the city and theſe machines, and at each end of the breach. The beſiegers were now ready to make the attack. They moved forward in great order, with the elephants in front. Theſe animals having got within the breach, found the ſpikes running into their feet, and were thereby much irritated. The citizens, obſerving this, began to gall them and their riders with darts and ſtones. This occaſioned a dreadful confuſion. Many of the ſpikes had pierced ſo deep, that ſome of the poor brutes,

brutes, unable to move, fell down. Others were ſo enraged by the pain they felt, that they turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The Macedonian army obſerving this were ſtruck with diſmay, and refuſed to attempt ſtorming the place: Polyperchon was therefore forced to retire. News of a nature equally diſgraceful reached him much about the ſame time. This was an account of the diſcomfiture of the admiral Clytus. After ſuch repeated loſſes he ſaw no proſpect of acquiring any honour in Greece. He appointed a conſiderable body of foot and horſe to block up the Megalopolitans in their city, and the remainder of his army haſtened to Macedon.

Nicanor, loaded with naval honours, had now reſumed his government. Caſſander, ſenſible of the ſervice which the governor had rendered him, ſhowed him the greateſt attention and reſpect. They were living together on the moſt intimate and friendly terms, when it was told Caſſander, that the governor had a deſign of making himſelf the ſovereign of Attica. He had made ſome difficulty in admitting Caſſander's troops into ſome of the forts; a circumſtance which, being united with that report, awakened ſuſpicion, which is nearly allied to revenge. Caſſander poſted ſome of his men in an empty houſe, and aſked Nicanor to meet him there, in order to conſult

about ſome matters of high moment. Nicanor appeared, and was entering, when aſſaſſins attacked and murdered him. The indignation of the friends of Nicanor was rouzed; but when they conſidered that Caſſander was already in poſſeſſion of the greater part of the city, and that they were not likely to find a very able ſecond in Polyperchon, in caſe they ſhould attempt a revolution, they judged it moſt eligible to ſubmit to their fate. Indeed, the engaging manners of Caſſander tended greatly to reconcile the Athenians to his government. His condeſcenſion and his generoſity beſpoke, in many inſtances, the ſubmiſſive negociator, rather than the ſucceſsful prince.

Among the firſt acts of his power, was the appointment of a governor. The perſon whom he named to that office was Demetrius Phalereus, the celebrated diſciple of Theophraſtus. Demetrius was at once a philoſopher, an orator, and a man of virtue. His ſcience he had derived from Theophraſtus, his leſſons of virtue and eloquence from Phocion and Demoſthenes. The one qualified him to comprehend and encourage the literary purſuits of an acute and ingenious people; the others to check and controul their licentiouſneſs. Cicero ſpeaks in a very favourable manner of his oratory; but then he ſays, he was the firſt of all the Greeks who changed the bold, nervous, and reſiſtleſs

resistless eloquence of the earlier orators, into the mild and pathetic species of eloquence; which he thinks is far inferior, in point of merit, to the former, "as the power of the gently-gliding stream "is inferior to that of the rough, thundering tor-"rent." His moderation and kindness towards those he governed procured their esteem, and, in many instances, their love. They soon reposed the greatest confidence in his wisdom and integrity; and that confidence he did not betray. That power which he might have improved into tyranny, he used as means of promoting their wealth and grandeur. He repaired their public edifices, and even built some new ones. He was so attentive to the improvement of their finance, that before his government ended the public revenues were greatly encreased. These advantages to the citizens of Athens were repaid by them in the honours they conferred on their benefactor. They erected no less than three hundred statues, as tokens of their gratitude, many of which were equestrian. He was respected and honoured by all, but was not universally popular, having been set over Athens by Cassander, who was looked upon as the enemy of the civil liberty of Greece.

The losses and disgrace which the arms of Polyperchon had lately met, cut off every hope of his gaining ground in Greece, and determined him

to content himſelf with the direction of Macedon. Attica was now beyond the reach of his power, and the ſucceſs of the Megalopolitans had inſpired all Peloponneſus with contempt of his authority. In ſuch a predicament ambition would have been ridiculous: but he was doomed even to a harder lot.

Olympias had been recalled to take charge of the infant king, Alexander, and to ſanction the new adminiſtration of Macedon by her preſence. She was now prepairing for her return. Previouſly to her quitting Epirus ſhe wrote to Eumenes, informing him of her intention of reviſiting Macedon. Eumenes, who always had the welfare of the ſtate near to his heart, adviſed her, in his anſwer, not to be too precipitate in her return; and, in caſe ſhe did return, to endeavour to forget all the injuries ſhe had formerly received, and to try to behave with gentleneſs and forbearance. The ſequel of her ſtory will ſhow how much ſtreſs ſhe laid on the friendly admonition of Eumenes. She arrived in Macedon in a very ſhort time; and, on her preſence being announced, great conſternation pervaded the minds of the people: even her own friends dreaded the effects of her reſentment. Thoſe who had been devoted to the intereſts of Antipater had peculiar reaſon to tremble; but, above all, Philip Aridæus and his queen. Aridæus

dæus, the ſon of Philip by a concubine, had from his infancy been ſubjected to that averſion and hatred from Olympias, which the relation which ſubſiſted between her and him uſually excites. The infirmity of his underſtanding was ſaid to have been the effect of a potion which ſhe gave him. Cynane, the mother of Philip Aridæus's queen, had been murdered by Perdiccas, at the inſtigation of Olympias. Amyntas, her father, the ſon of Philip the Firſt's elder brother, had alſo been deſtroyed through her contrivance; ſo that neither Philip, nor Eurydice his wife, could be ſuppoſed to look upon her with complacence. Indeed they had every reaſon to apprehend bad conſequences from her getting into power, and they ſet themſelves to provide for the worſt. Eurydice had more diſcernment and activity than her huſband. She began to levy an army, calling upon all who either reſpected the brother of Alexander, their late royal maſter, or his queen, or who revered the virtues of Antipater, to unite in defending the rights of their country. She wrote, at the ſame time to Caſſander, preſſing him to haſten to her aſſiſtance; and ſhe gave command to Polyperchon not to take any farther concern in the adminiſtration, but to give it up to Caſſander, whom the king thought proper to appoint. The Macedonians readily armed at the requeſt of

 Eurydice,

Eurydice, and in a ſhort time ſhe was prepared to do more than defend herſelf from violence.

Theſe haſty proceedings of Eurydice furniſhed her enemies with ſufficient plea for taking up arms. Olympias, ever jealous and watchful, had marked them with attention, and readily diſcovered the neceſſity ſhe was under of being upon her guard. Her brother had ſent a body of Epirots to eſcort her to Macedon: to them ſhe added ſome of her Macedonian adherents, and ſtraightway marched to join Polyperchon's troops. Having formed a junction, the whole army moved on to attack Eurydice, who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, led out her forces to meet them. It was her wiſh to have deferred fighting till ſhe could have been ſupported by Caſſander; but her precipitate conduct in taking up arms had rouzed the apprehenſions of the oppoſing party, and by quickening their motions, had rendered the arrival of ſuccour from Caſſander impracticable. The armies met, and were ready to cloſe, when Olympias's appearance at the head of her troops put an end to the diſpute. The ſoldiers of Eurydice diſcovering in her mien all the dignity and awful majeſty of the royal relict of Philip, and of the mother of Alexander the Great, were unable to ſtrike a ſingle blow: they quitted

quitted their ranks, and went over to the ſtandard of Olympias.

This event proved fatal to Eurydice and her conſort. They both fell into the hands of Olympias, who perſecuted them with all that unrelenting hatred which belonged to her temper. They were confined in a priſon, which was ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarcely turn themſelves in it. Their wretched ſuſtenance was thrown in at a little hole, through which paſſed light and air, and all the other limited comforts they were permitted to enjoy. Perceiving that this barbarous treatment had no other effect than to excite the compaſſion of the people, and fearing that their commiſeration would ſoon be converted into indignation towards her, ſhe reſolved to put a period to the miſerable exiſtence of her priſoners. She inſtructed ſome Thracians to enter the priſon, and diſpatch Aridæus; and they did ſo without remorſe. He had reigned ſix years and four months.

This inhuman action being perpetrated, Olympias ſent meſſengers to the queen, furniſhed with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poiſon, deſiring her to chuſe which ſhe pleaſed. They found her binding up the wounds of her bleeding ſpouſe, with linen which ſhe had torn from her own body, and paying all that decent and ſolemn reſpect to the lifeleſs corpſe which became her deplorable ſituation.

ſituation. She received the meſſage that was brought to her with the greateſt compoſure, and, after entreating the gods "that Olympias might "be rewarded with the like preſent," ſhe took the rope and ſtrangled himſelf. Thus were that hapleſs pair cut off. Olympias had now gained a complete triumph over both. She had ſeen a period to the life of Aridæus, whom ſhe had long ſince deprived of every rational enjoyment, by robbing him of his underſtanding; and ſhe had completed the ruin of Eurydice and her family, by conſigning her to an end ſimilar to that which her violent and vindictive paſſions had formerly procured to her unfortunate parents.

Olympias's thirſt of blood was not yet quenched. She cauſed Nicanor, the brother of Caſſander, to be put to death. The body of Iolas, another brother of Caſſander's, which had long reſted in the tomb, ſhe had brought forth, and expoſed on the highway; and an hundred Macedonians, of noble birth, were ſeized and executed, on ſuſpicion of having been in the intereſt of Caſſander.

Caſſander having received Eurydice's letter, and, ſoon after, the news of her impriſonment by Olympias, made all poſſible haſte to come to her relief. Upon reaching the ſtraits of Thermobylæ, he found a body of Ætolians waiting to diſpute the

the paſſage; but expedition being his main object, he ſtudied only how to avoid delay. He had ordered his fleet to follow him; and finding that it was impoſſible to paſs the ſtraits without coming to an engagement, he led his army towards the ſea, and put them on board of ſhips. They reached Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias had been informed of their approach. Caſſander formed his army into two diviſions, giving the command of the one to Callas, while he himſelf was to lead the other. Callas had orders to march againſt Polyperchon, whoſe troops had been ſeparated from thoſe of Olympias. He did ſo; and engaged the protector's attention ſo completely, that Olympias was left to provide for her own ſafety. Cruel and inhuman as ſhe had been, ſhe had ſtill the vanity to think that the Macedonians would join in ſupporting her meaſures. She had once triumphed by the majeſty of her appearance; ſhe could then, ſhe thought, do no leſs, after having ſhown what dangers ſhe was willing to meet in order to guard and ſtrengthen the adminiſtration of her country. She had many followers, but they rather compoſed a court than an army. She uſed ſeveral of thoſe arts of which ſhe was ſo fruitful, in order to gain the Macedonians over to her cauſe. She carried though the chief cities, Roxana her daughter, and Alexander her grandſon, her niece Deidamia, Theſſalonica,

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the ſiſter of Alexander, and many other perſons of high birth and intereſt. But finding her affairs ſomewhat deſperate, ſhe returned with them and her army into the city of Pydna, which lay on the ſea ſhore, and was ſtrongly fortified, and there ſhut herſelf up.

Caſſander was at hand. He inveſted the city by land and by ſea. In a very ſhort time the beſieged began to be in want of proviſions; and the ſoldiers would have refuſed to defend the fort, had they not been encouraged by the preſence of ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, and fed with the hopes of receiving powerful ſuccours from Æacidas, king of Epirus. That prince had really engaged to ſupport the claims of his ſiſter Olympias, and his army was in motion, when Caſſander ſaw the expediency of ſtopping its progreſs. He blocked up all the paſſes from Epirus, and reduced the army of Æacidas to ſuch difficulties, that deſpairing of ſucceſs in their expedition, and even doubting of their own ſafety, they conſpired againſt their king, renounced his authority, and ſubmitted to Caſſander.

Olympias had now no friend to whom ſhe could look for held but Polyperchon; and ſhe little knew that Callas had put it entirely out of his power to ſuccour any ally. He had been at pains to diſtribute a great number of manifeſtoes, re

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flecting on the injuftice and cruelties of the administration, which was then headed by Olympias and Polyperchon; and had thereby fo effectually alienated the minds of Polyperchon's foldiers from his government, that he was barely able to defend himfelf.

The condition of Olympias and her garrifon was now become truly deplorable The royal family, and the reft of the court were compelled to feed on horfe-flefh, the foldiers on their dead companions and the elephants on faw-duft. In this wretched ftate many deferted to Caffander, who treated all with generofity and kindnefs, thofe only excepted who had been fharers in the late murders. Olympias again turned her eyes towards Polyperchon: fhe wrote a letter, and difpatched a meffenger with it in the night; but it did not reach him; the meffenger was feized, and the defign of his adventure difappointed. Olympias, finding that the relief fhe looked for from Polyperchon did not arrive in due time, gave up all hopes, and furrendered herfelf and army to Caffander.

By this furrender was determined the fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, immediately fubmitted to the victor: and Ariftonus, who then commanded a detachment of men at Amphipolis, at the requeft of Olympias, yielded up the city.

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When Olympias ſubmitted to Caſſander, ſhe ſtipulated for her life; but the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had murdered inſiſting on her death, Caſſander, pretending that his ſtipulation related to military execution only, gave her up to the civil laws of her country. The friends of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlain aſſembled, and accuſed her before the people, by whom ſhe was condemned without being heard. On this occaſion Caſſander offered her a ſhip to convey her to Athens; but ſhe rejected the offer. She inſiſted upon being heard before the Macedonians; and ſaid ſhe was not afraid to anſwer for all ſhe had done. Caſſander was unwilling to abide the iſſue of ſuch a trial as ſhe demanded; he therefore ſent a band of two hundred ſoldiers to put her to death. When the ſoldiers entered the priſon they were ſtruck with awe, and refuſed to obey their orders; but the relations of thoſe who had fallen by her reſentment, ruſhed forward, and cut her throat. She is ſaid to have behaved with much fortitude on that trying occaſion. Caſſander ſuffered her body to lie for ſome time unburied; to revenge, perhaps, the inſult which ſhe had offered to the remains of Iolas, his brother. Roxana and her ſon Alexander were impriſoned at Amphipolis: and orders were given that they ſhould be treated no otherwiſe than as private perſons. Hercules, the ſon

ſon of Alexander by Barſine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the inſtigation of Caſſander, about two years after.

Not more than twenty-eight years had elapſed ſince the death of Alexander, and not a ſingle branch of his houſe remained to enjoy a portion of that empire which Philip and his ſon had acquired, at the price of the greateſt policy, dangers, and bloodſhed. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Aſia, and Africa.

CHAP. XVIII.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM THE OVERTHROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP, TO THE CONFEDERACY FORMED BY THE MACEDONIANS AND ACHÆANS AGAINST THE ÆTOLIANS.

CASSANDER now began to cultivate the arts of peace; but other objects ſoon engaged his attention. In Greece, Polyperchon, and Alexander his ſon, were intriguing with the enemies of Antipater's family, and ſowing the ſeeds

of future diſſenſion. It was incumbent on Caſſander, as the protector and lord of both countries, to conſult their mutual intereſts. He reſolved to go into Greece; and for that purpoſe levied a powerful army. He began his march; but on reaching Theſſaly, he found the Pylæ ſhut up by the Ætolians, his determined and avowed enemies. The oppoſition, however, which they made, did not retard his progreſs. He forced a paſſage; and coming down into Bœotia, advanced towards the ruins of Thebes. The ſight of theſe ruins, it is natural to imagine, would fill his mind with a variety of reflections. It would at once remind him of the ancient fame of the inhabitants; the fallen ſplendor of the place; and of the renown of that man, whoſe fortune it was to exterminate ſuch a people, and to eraſe ſuch a city. It is not eaſy to determine, what motives could have induced Caſſander to project the rebuilding of the city; whether it was compaſſion for the ſufferings of the Thebans, or a deſire to make friends of that people when collected, and to procure from the world the reputation of being humane; or the deteſtation in which he held the memory of Alexander, whoſe acts he was anxious to reverſe. The laſt, in all probability, was the moſt powerful. Be that as it might, he was reſolved to raiſe a ſecond Thebes: and for that purpoſe he requeſted of

of the Bœotians to aſſiſt him in carrying on ſo generous a deſign. He alſo invited the Thebans, who had been proſcribed, to return to their native country. All were willing to ſecond his endeavours; and, in a ſhort time, the walls were completed, and the principal ſtreets rebuilt. The Thebans now ſent into every country, to recal their friends; and their city began to aſſume an appearance of proſperity and happineſs. Upwards of twenty years had elapſed ſince its deſtruction: it had the peculiar fortune of being rebuilt by that very people who had overthrown it. The main oject of Caſſander's expedition, as has already been ſaid, was to check the dark proceedings of Polyperchon and his ſon. Having therefore remained in Bœotia as long as he ſuppoſed his preſence would be ſerviceable, he ſet out for Peloponneſus. On his arrival at the Iſthmus, he found that Alexander had thrown a wall acroſs it, with a view to interrupt his march. But that wall availed him little: Caſſander tranſported his army in flat-bottomed boats; and partly by force, partly by treaty, gained all the principal cities over to his cauſe. Alexander fled to Aſia; Caſſander gave his general, Molychus, a body of men ſufficient to guard the Iſthmus, and then ſhaped his courſe towards Macedon.

To enter more particularly into a view of the domeftic ftate of the Macedonian kingdom, belongs not properly to Grecian hiftory; we fhall, therefore, haften over this ground, to thofe events which open fome profpects of the declining ftates of Greece. Caffander experienced, in his exalted ftation, the inquietudes of fovereign power; he was encompaffed by artful and powerful enemies, the Ætolians and the Epirots on the one hand, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other. Even the death of the children of Alexander added to the importance of his rivals in empire, who reaped, without participating in his guilt, the advantages of his crimes. He died, however, in the peaceable poffeffion of Macedon, and Greece too, now fubject to Macedon, a few cities only excepted. On the death of Caffander, his two fons. Antipater and Alexander, each of them laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander had recourfe to the affiftance of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, having treacheroufly affaffinated him at an entertainment, contrived to gain a party over to his interefts, and himfelf got poffeffion of the kingdom. Demetrius, inftead of repairing the devaftation which Macedon had fuffered from conftant wars, immediately engages in new military enterprizes, on the fides of Greece, of Ætolia, of Epire, and of Thrace. He abandoned himfelf, at the

the ſame time, to luxury, to vanity, and to extreme haughtineſs. His court was a continued ſcene of diſſipation and riot. Though of free acceſs to the miniſters of his pleaſures, he would ſcarcely ſuffer any others of his ſubjects, or even the miniſters of foreign ſtates, to approach him. The diſaffected Macedonians were on the point of declaring againſt him. In ſuch circumſtances, Ptolemy ſailed againſt his Grecian dominions with a powerful fleet, Lyſimachus entered Macedon on the ſide of Thrace, and Pyrrhus advanced againſt him from Epirus. Demetrius, obliged to abandon his dominions, made the moſt heroic efforts, but in vain, to regain them. Adverſity reſtored him to his ſober judgment, and was a theatre on which he diſplayed the moſt exalted virtues. After the expulſion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon, Pyrrhus and Lyſimachus, who had acted in concert in this revolution, now ſet up oppoſite claims to the ſucceſſion, and prepared to ſupport their reſpective pretenſions by arms. Lyſimachus, by open force and ſecret artifices, ſoon ſtript the king of Epire of all his Macedonian poſſeſſions. Diſſenſions ariſe in the family of the victor, between his different queens and their offspring, which terminate, as is uſual in deſpotic governments in an act of aſſaſſination, which determined the injured party to throw themſelves on the protection of Seleucus.

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This prince met Lysimachus on a plain, on the Phrygian borders, called the Field of Cyrus. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lysimachus eighty. The only two surviving generals of Alexander both acquitted themselves with all the vigour and activity of youth. But Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lysimachus fell. Seleucus now resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, indulging the hope of spending the remainder of his days in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. But he was treacherously slain about seven months after the death of Lysimachus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus, brother of Lysander, in whose behalf he had appeared at the head of an army. Ptolemy, now in the possession of the Macedonian crown, courts the widow of Lysimachus, who still retained a portion of the upper or eastern part of Macedon; and, by offering to settle the succession on her sons, prevailed on her to marry him. But no sooner had this monster obtained possession of the persons of the young princes than he murdered them, and banished the princess their mother to Samothracia.

Guilt so enormous was soon followed by the just vengeance of heaven. A body of three hundred thousand Gauls having left their own country, in quest of new settlements, after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, divided them-

themſelves into three bodies; one of which made an irruption into Macedon. Being refuſed a certain ſum of gold, he was attacked, at the head of his tumultuary troops, by the barbarians, who cut off his head, and carried it through their ranks on the top of a lance. This body of Gauls met with a vigorous reſiſtance from the collected remains of Macedonian valour, under the conduct of Soſthenes. But a freſh ſwarm of barbarians, headed by the chieftain Brennus, cut Soſthenes, with his gallant army, to pieces; and having drained all the wealth of Macedon, bent their courſe towards Greece, which ſeemed utterly unable to ſuſtain this inundation of barbarous invaders.

But the Grecian ſtates, animated by a ſenſe of their extreme danger, adopted that ſtrict diſcipline, and thoſe wiſe councils, which adverſity is wont to inſpire into the rulers of nations. They immediately brought together what remained of thair ſtrength, and ſecured the defiles of Thermopylæ, that commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, under the command of Calippus, took the lead in this important ſervice, whilſt their fleets ſailed to the coaſts of Theſſaly, in order to ſupport the operations of the army by land. Brennus was aſtoniſhed at the reſiſtance he met with. Notwithſtanding the multitudes, the gigantic ſtature, and the ferocity of his troops, he was obliged

after repeated loſſes in different attacks, to deſiſt from his attempt to force the paſs. He then detached a body of his troops to plunder Ætolia, which, on the ſouth, lay contiguous to Theſſaly, hoping that this would occaſion a diverſion in his favour. Still he was unable to force the paſs; and his detachment exciting, by their cruelties, an univerſal deteſtation, were half of them cut off. At length the Theſſalians, in whoſe country the Gauls, were encamped, wiſhing to rid themſelves of ſuch burthenſome ſtrangers, directed them to the path over Mount Œta, by which the Medians had entered Greece in the time of Xerxes. He directed his march to the temple of Delphi, which he deſigned to plunder of all its accumulated treaſures. But the inhabitants of that ſacred city, inſpired by religious enthuſiaſm, made a deſperate ſally againſt the barbarians, who, ſtruck with a panic, fled with precipitation. The purſuit was continued for a whole day and night; and a violent ſtorm and piercing cold co-operating with the fury of the victorious Greeks, moſt of the barbarians periſhed by a dreadful ſlaughter. Brennus wounded, and diſtracted with religious horror, killed himſelf. The few who ſurvived having aſſembled together, endeavoured to effect a retreat from ſo fatal a country. But the ſeveral nations roſe againſt them as they paſſed; and of all thoſe multitudes which had

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poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one returned to his native land. Juſtin ſays they were all cut off; other hiſtorians, that a remnant of them made their eſcape into Thrace and Aſia. On this occaſion it is natural to compare the different ſucceſs of theſe from that of thoſe irruptions of barbarians, which afterwards ſubverted the Roman empire. It might be no unpleaſing or unprofitable ſpeculation, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe different effects; what were the comparative degrees of the Grecian and Roman virtue, diſcipline, and military artifice. This is a field which belongs to the philoſophical politician, and it well merits a very particular diſcuſſion. In this work it is only neceſſary to touch upon the means by which the barbarians were repelled by the ſtates of Greece.

The Delphians, as we are informed by Juſtin, gave orders, in the name of the oracle, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages ſhould abandon their dwellings, leaving them all ſtored with wines, and all kinds of proviſions. The Gauls indulging their appetites, which were ſharpened by want of ſuſtenance, loſt, through exceſs, much of that vigour by which their operations had been generally diſtinguiſhed. Mount Parnaſſus, which ſtood faſt by the ſacred city of Delphos, furniſhed an opportunity of practiſing, with ſucceſs, another ſtratagem.

tagem. This mount had many caves and hollow windings. In theſe numbers of people were ſtationed, with inſtructions, on proper occaſions, to raiſe up loud ſhouts, or to make the moſt frightful yellings and ſcreams. Theſe iſſuing forth without and viſible cauſe, convinced the barbarians that they were produced by beings more than human. The vicinity and the ſteep heights of the ſame mountain alſo enabled the inhabitants to annoy the enemy with ſtones and looſened rocks. This religious enthuſiaſm, guided and aided by the ſubtlety of the rulers of Delphos, fruſtrated the attempt of the barbarians againſt that ſacred city. Their repulſe at Thermopylæ muſt be aſcribed to ſuperior military ſkill and diſcipline, and to a quick revival of a ſpirit of liberty, as well as to an apprehenſion of ſome dreadful and unknown danger among a people diſtinguiſhed by a lively ſenſibility of temper.

The Macedonian throne, after the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus*, was filled by Antigonus, the ſon of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who married the princeſs Philla, a daughter of Seleucus by Stratonice. Antigonus carried great riches into his new dominions from Peloponneſus; the court was maintained in great pomp and ſplendor, and the whole kingdom began to recover from its late

* *The Thunderer.*

devaſta-

devaſtation. A body of barbarians, that had taken up their abode on the northern boundaries of Macedon, when Brennus carried his ravages ſouthward, underſtanding theſe things, and allured by the proſpect of plunder, made a ſecond inroad into Macedon. He ſuffered them at firſt to carry on their depredations; but he attacked them when encumbered with booty, and forced them to retreat with great ſlaughter.

The kingdom of Macedon had ſcarcely time to breathe after this invaſion, when it felt the attacks of a new enemy. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, underwent, from his earlieſt infancy, a continued ſeries of the moſt ſurpriſing adventures; and by the viciſſitudes and the ſeverities of fortune, was trained up in the habits of verſatility, of courage, and hardſhip. Reſtored to his hereditary throne, from which he had been driven when an infant, he had nothing to divert his mind from the enjoyment and proſperity of his kingdom. But his mind, incapable of reſt, knew no ſatisfaction but in new enterprizes. After various unſucceſsful exploits in Sicily and Italy, he had returned to Epire, inflamed with indignation againſt Antigonus, to whom he had applied for ſuccours without ſucceſs. He therefore made an irruption into the Macedonian territories; and being joined by great numbers of the Macedonians themſalves, he defeated Antigonus

tigonus in a pitched battle. This prince being ftill mafter of Theffalonica and the adjoining coafts, made head a fecond time againft the enemy, but was defeated by Ptolemy, whom Pyrrhus had left to govern his newly-acquired dominions, while he himfelf purfued other enterprizes.

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, had applied to Pyrrhus for the redrefs of certain grievances he had fuffered at the hands of his country, from which he was now an exile. Pyrrhus liftened with fatisfaction to complaints which opened new fcenes to his ambition: and while Arcus, who had ufurped the throne of Lacedæmon, was abfent with the flower of the Spartan army, in Crete, at the head of twenty-five thoufand foot, two thoufand horfe, and twenty-four elephants, carried confternation to the gates of Sparta. On this occafion the Spartan women fignalized their own heroifm, and difplayed, in a very ftriking manner, the effects of the inftitutions of Lycurgus. The council propofed, in fo dangerous a juncture, to fend off the women to fome place of fafety; but Archidamia, delegated by the Spartan ladies, entered the fenate-houfe, with a fword in her hand, and delivered their fentiments and her own in thefe words:—"Think not, O men of Sparta! "fo meanly of your country-women, as to ima-"gine that they will furvive the ruin of the ftate.

"Deliberate

"Deliberate not then whither we are to fly, but "what we are to do." In confequence of this animating addrefs, it was refolved to employ the night in finking a trench oppofite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed in the ground, in order to prevent the paffing of the elephants; one third of this work to be executed by the women, and all the reft of it by the old men, that the young men might be in fpirits in the morning to fuftain the charge of the enemy. After the moft incredible exertions of courage on both fides, Pyrrhus was compelled by the Spartans to feek his fafety in retreat. This difcomfiture did not difcourage him. "To-morrow," faid he, "we will refume the fight, when the Spartans, "fmarting under their wounds, will be lefs able "to refift us." But timely reinforcements from Antigonus, and from Arcus, obliged Pyrrhus to raife the fiege. As foon as he had begun his march, Arcus hung on his rear, and galled him exceedingly. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, was furrounded and flain. Pyrrhus bent his courfe to Argos, whither he had been invited by a faction in oppofition to Antigonus. But on his arrival at that city he found his antagonift, who had his partizans as well as himfelf, encamped near it with a confiderable force. Both parties among the Argives trembling at the near approach

of

of war, entreated these high-spirited princes to decide their disputes without the gates of the city. They both promised to comply with this request; but Pyrrhus, in an attempt to enter the city during the darkness of night, was slain. Of the character of Pyrrhus, as a warrior, it will be sufficient to say, that even Hannibal accounted him the greatest general the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to the celebrated Carthaginian, being only the second.

The army of Pyrrhus was repulsed with great slaughter; and such was the terror that his name had struck into the Argives, that they considered the deliverance which they obtained from his death as the effect of some supernatural interposition. Antigonus was now seated again on the throne of Macedon. A Macedonian king, master of extensive possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus, even to those who had espoused his cause, became an object of jealousy. A confederacy was formed against him between the Spartan and Egyptian kings; and, in the midst of their hostile preparations, a fresh irruption of Gauls threatened his country with total devastation. The Macedonians fled before them, and made not any resistance, But Antigonus, the Fabius or Washington of his times, prudently permitted the invaders to exhaust

their

their fury in wild excurfions. He hung upon them and haraffed them in their marches, led them into difadvantageous ground, and at laft cut them off to a man. The ambition of Antigonus being inflamed by fuccess, he meditated nothing less than a complete reduction of the Grecian ftates. He commenced his operations with the fiege of Athens. The veneration in which that city was ftill held, united with the idea of general danger, drew affiftance from Sparta and from Egypt. Antigonus, however, prevailed over all refiftance, and impofed on the Athenians a Macedonian garrifon. In the mean time Macedon was wrefted from him by Alexander, the fon of Pyrrhus, but recovered to him by Demetrius, his own fon. Multiplied experience might have taught Antigonus the folly of conqueft; but perfevering in the career of mad ambition, be obtained poffeffion, through artifice, of the city of Corinth, and loft it about eight years afterwards. The hand of death put an end to his ambition, after a reign of thirty-four years from his firft acquifition of the throne of Macedon. His fon and fucceffor, Demetrius, maintaining an intereft in the different ftates of Greece, not by holding the fovereignty himfelf, but by fupporting the tyrants that had ufurped it: a fpecies of dominion equally important, and lefs liable to jealoufy, than if he had held it in his own name. Demetrius

reigned

reigned only ten years, and was ſucceeded by his kinſman Antigonus, a man of juſtice and moderation, and who avoided all interference in the affairs of foreign ſtates, and that at a time when the turbulent ſituation of Greece afforded opportunities which tempted ambition.

The republic of Achaia, formerly but little known, began now to make a conſpicuous figure, and ſeemed to aim at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of Greece. This republic was of high antiquity: it conſiſted originally of twelve towns. The firſt government known among theſe had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings; but in proceſs of time, rouzed by the tyranny of their princes, they threw off the yoke of kings, and united in one confederacy for their mutual defence againſt monarchical oppreſſion. It was agreed that all ſhould have the ſame intereſts, the ſame friendſhips; the ſame coins, weights, and meaſures; the ſame laws, and the ſame magiſtrates. Theſe Magiſtrates were elected annually, by a majority of voices thoughout the whole community. Twice in the year, or oftener if neceſſary, a general aſſembly, conſiſting of deputies from the different cities, was held, for the great purpoſes of legiſlation and government. The magiſtrates, who were inveſted with the ſupreme executive power, were ſtyled Generals of the States of Achaia. They com-

commanded the military force of the republic, and poffeffed the right of prefiding in the national affembly. The generals were originally two; but, from the inconveniencies infeparable from a divided government, were at laft reduced to one. A council of ten called Demiurgi, affifted the General with their advice, and ftood as a barrier between the encroachments of power and the people. It was their prerogative alfo to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular affembly, that they might propofe or reject accordingly, as they approved or difapproved of them. Befides thefe fuperior magiftrates, every town had alfo its municipal magiftracy, confifting alfo, as fome with great probability have conjectured, like the national conftitution, of a popular affembly, a council, and a prefiding magiftrate. With regard to the laws of the Achæans, the moft material object in the hiftory of any people, our knowledge is exceedingly imperfect. Such of them, however, as have been tranfmitted to us, are proofs of their political wifdom.

It was enacted, That whatever individual or town belonging to the Achæan confederacy, fhould accept of any gratification whatfoever, in its public or private capacity, from prince or people, fhould be cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia.

 That

That no member of the Achæan league ſhould ſend any embaſſy, or contract any alliance or friendſhip with any prince or people, without the privity and approbation of the whole Achæan confederacy.

The unanimous conſent of the whole confederacy was neceſſary for the admiſſion into it of any prince, ſtate, or city.

A convention of the national aſſembly was not to be granted at the requeſt of any foreign prince, unleſs the matters to be offered to their conſideration were firſt delivered in writing, to the General of Achaia, and the Council of Ten, and pronounced by them to be of ſufficient importance.

The deliberations of every aſſembly were to be wholly confined to the matter on account of which they had been convened.

In all debates, thoſe who ſpoke were to deliver a ſhort ſketch of the arguments they employed, in order to be conſidered the enſuing day; and within the third day, at fartheſt, was the buſineſs before them to be finally determined.

The equity and humane ſpirit which breathed in the civil conſtitution of the Achæans, ſupported by a great ſimplicity of manners and good faith, recommended them ſo effectually to the adjoining nations, that they became the arbiters of differences among their neighbours. But when the power

power of Macedon controlled Greece, moſt of the members of the Achæan league, at the inſtigation of Macedonian emiſſaries, deſerted the national union, and fell under the dominion of various tyrants. The diſtracted ſtate of Macedon under Lyſimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus, enabled them to recover their ancient government, ſlowly, however, and by degrees. Their towns were ſmall, and ill peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coaſts deſtitute of harbours, and full of danger. In theſe circumſtances, to enjoy a peaceable independence was all their ambition; when Aratus, a native of Sicyon, a ſworn foe to tyrants, having relieved his native city from the ſlavery in which it was held by Nicocles, endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf, and the cauſe which he eſpouſed againſt the creatures of the late uſurper. With this view he had recourſe to the friendſhip of the Achæans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and were the only people of Peloponneſus who were animated with the ſpirit of freedom. Five hundred and eighty of the citizens of Sicyon had been driven into exile; and it now became a ſubject of conſideration how to relieve ſo numerous a body of claimants, a general reſumption being impracticable. Aratus, who had been employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to collect paintings for him, applied, on

this occaſion, to that prince, who generouſly furniſhed him with ſums of money ſufficient for his purpoſe. In the diſtribution of this ſum he acquitted himſelf with ſuch equity and prudence, that both the old proprietors and new poſſeſſors were equally ſatisfied with his conduct. The fame of Aratus drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece; the Achæan ſtates, in particular, conſidered him as an important acquiſition, and advanced him to the dignity of General of Achaia. The Macedonian king held, at this time, great poſſeſſions in Peloponneſus, and the petty ſovereigns of the ſeveral cities, were, in general, his vaſſals. It was eaſy to ſee that Macedonian ambition would ſoon diſturb the peace of the Achæan republic: Aratus, therefore, determined to reſtrain it. Corinth, the key to the whole peninſula, was held by Antigonus. The Achæan general attacked it in the night, ſcaled the walls by ladders with only one hundred men, the reſt being ordered to follow another way. Having gained a footing in the city, he diſpoſed his different parties in ſo advantageous a manner, and was ſo well ſupported by thoſe who were to co-operate from without, that the garriſon were obliged to abandon the citadel, the keys of which he generouſly delivered to the Corinthians, whom he incorporated among the Achæan ſtates.

The

The emancipation of Sicyon and of Corinth, by a powerful contagion, excited a revolt in Megara, Troezene, Epidaurus, and Cleonæ. The ſpirit of liberty caught even Lyſiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis, who of his own accord abdicated the ſovereignty, and applied, that the city he had ruled might be admitted into the Achæan league. Aratus, ever intent on the truly heroic purpoſe of reſtoring the liberties of Greece, after different unſucceſsful attempts to give freedom to Athens, at laſt diſcovered that the Macedonian governor of that venerable city was not incorruptible, and offered him his price. The ſum ſtipulated was about thirty thouſand pounds, whereof Aratus (who had alſo expended vaſt ſums in eſtabliſhing a neceſſary correſpondence in Corinth) paid twenty himſelf. The forts were accordingly ſurrendered into the hands of the Athenians, and Athens was joined to the Achæan league. Argos too, by the efforts of this great and good man, was delivered from the Macedonian yoke, and united with this confederacy. Scarcely one of the neighbouring ſtates remained inimical or independent: all of them either entered into alliance with the Achæans or fell under their ſubjection. The king of Egypt, the moſt powerful prince of his times, as an enemy to the Macedonian kings, declared himſelf the Protector of the Liberties of Achaia, and promiſed his

 aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance if ever it ſhould be neceſſary. Such was the ſituation of the Achæan republic, during the firſt years of the reign of the ſecond Antigonus. But this ſplendid face of things was changed and ruined, by the ſelfiſh ambition and jealouſies of the very parties from whoſe ſpirit of freedom it originally ſprung.

CHAP. XIX.

FROM THE CONFEDERACY BETWEEN THE ÆTOLIANS AND SPARTANS AGAINST THE ACHÆANS, TO THE INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, KING OF SYRIA.

THE Ætolian ſtate, like that of Achaia, conſiſted of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite, from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip, father of Alexander. Their civil conſtitution, in many reſpects, reſembled that of the Achæans. Their mountainous country affording them but a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, they made frequent inroads into the adjacent territories, whence they ruſhed back, with their plunder, to their ſtrong holds in the mountains. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they beheld with

envy the ſuperiority of that republic over the other Grecian ſtates, and laboured, with too great ſucceſs, to inſpire ſimilar ideas into the Spartans.

Lacedæmon had, by this time, exchanged poverty and hardy diſcipline for opulence and voluptuous manners. The public meals, that laſt pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance, were diſcountenanced by the rulers of the ſtate, and fell into diſrepute and diſuſe One or two princes, who endeavoured to ſtem the torrent of corruption, ſuffered depoſition, exile, and even death. The laws of Lycurgus were totally diſregarded. The lands were all in poſſeſſion of a few families, who lived in the greateſt ſplendor, whilſt the reſt of the Spartans, ſtripped of their patrimony, were doomed to the greateſt indigence. The efforts of Agis, the king, to enforce the ſumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new diviſion of lands, were oppoſed by the rich, and at laſt puniſhed with death, on pretence of a deſign to alter the government. In ſuch a ſituation of affairs, Cleomenes aſcended the Spartan throne, a prince who united integrity of heart with martial ſpirit and a love of glory. He found, on his acceſſion, both the internal conſtitution and the public affairs of Sparta in the utmoſt confuſion. Domeſtic diſtreſs, with its concomitant, deſpondency of ſpirit, had cauſed throughout Laconia an univerſal depopulation.

Inſtead of natives ſufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thouſand ſhares into which Lycurgus had originally divided the land, only ſeven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; and of theſe, about ſix hundred, ſunk into abject penury and wretchedneſs, were incapable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public ſervice. The ſlaves, too, had many of them periſhed through want of employment and ſubſiſtence, while others had been carried off, in great numbers, by the enemies of Sparta. Such were the miſerable decay of both public and private virtue! Cleomenes, actuated by his natural diſpoſition to arms, as well by the repreſentations already mentioned, of the Ætolians, in order to revive the martial ſpirit of the Spartans, attacked Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, cities of Arcadia. Having reduced theſe under his obedience, he marched without delay againſt a certain caſtle in the diſtrict of Megalopolis, which commanded on that ſide the entrance into Laconia. Immediately upon this act of hoſtility, the Achæan ſtates declared war againſt the Spartans. The Spartan king forthwith took the field, with what troops he could muſter, and ravaged the territories of the cities in alliance with Achaia. With five thouſand men he advanced againſt the Achæan general Aratus, who perceiving the reſolution of the Spartans, declined

declined an engagement, though at the head of twenty. The retreat of Aratus determined the Eleans, who had never been ſteady in the intereſts of Achaia, openly to declare againſt her. The Achæans attempted to chaſtiſe this defection: but they were routed by Cleomenes at Lyceum, near the Elean borders; and totally overthrown by him in the enſuing campaign, near Leuctra. Purſuing his good fortune, he reduced ſeveral of the towns of Arcadia, which he garriſoned with his Lacedæmonian troops. He returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only, and cut off the Ephori, whom he conſidered as troubleſome to himſelf, and oppreſſive to the Spartan ſubjects, by aſſaſſination; a conduct which he endeavoured to juſtify, by arraigning the unconſtitutional eſtabliſhment of this order of magiſtrates, and a recital of ſeveral acts of iniquity. He now ſeized on the adminiſtration of juſtice, and re-eſtabliſhed the agrarian and ſumptuary laws of Lycurgus, which he enforced by his own example. Having thus made himſelf maſter of Sparta, he diverted that energy to foreign enterprizes, which might otherwiſe have broken out in domeſtic ſedition. He plundered the territories of Megalopolis, forced the Achæan lines at Hecatombeum, and obtained a complete victory. The Achæan army, compoſed of the flower of their nation, were almoſt all cut off. The Mantineans

having

having ſlaughtered the Achæan garriſon ſtationed in their city, put themſelves under the protection of the Spartans. The ſame ſpirit of defection and revolt appeared in moſt of the other cities of Peloponneſus. In this extremity they ſued for peace to Cleomenes; but Aratus who had for ſome time declined to take the lead in the public affairs of Achaia, now reſumed his authority; and, by inſiſting on ſuch terms as the high-ſpirited Cleomenes could not accept, contrived to prevent that peace which his countrymen wiſhed for.

Both Aratus and Cleomenes wiſhed to unite all the nations of Peloponneſus into one commonwealth, and by that means to form ſuch a bulwark for the liberties of Greece, as might ſet all foreign power at defiance. But to what people the ſupreme direction of the common affairs ſhould belong. was the queſtion. Even Aratus, ſo much above the love of money, ſhewed himſelf, on this occaſion, the ſlave of ambition; and, rather than ſee a ſuperior in power, determined to involve every thing in confuſion.

The interruption of the negociations for peace raiſed a general ferment throughout Peloponneſus, The conduct of Aratus fired the martial ardour of Cleomenes, and excited jealouſies in different ſtates; nor could the Achæans obtain any aſſiſtance from the Athenians, the Ætolians, or the Argives.

Corinth

Corinth was on the point of furrendering to the Spartan king; and even Sicyon muft have been loft, had not a timely difcovery prevented an intended confpiracy. Here we may remark the extreme quicknefs with which the Grecian ftates entered into any confederacy that was formed for humbling whatever power preponderated in Greece: a proof that, however their manners were corrupted, their fentiments of liberty and the balance of power were not yet wholly fubverted.

Refentment againft Cleomenes induced Aratus to entertain the project of calling in, for the deftruction of Sparta, the aid of Antigonus of Macedon. But in Greece this attempt was generally odious, and Antigonus was averfe from all interference in Grecian affairs, not being eafily dazzled by the fplendor of ambition. But the laft and the greateft of thefe difficulties he furmounted, by various artifices, and entered into a compact with Antigonus, the conditions whereof were: That the citadel of Corinth fhould be delivered into the hands of the king: that he fhould be at the head of the Achæan confederacy, fuperintend their councils and direct their operations: that his army fhould be fupported at their expence: that neither embaffy nor letter fhould be fent to any power without his approbation: and that no city, ftate, or people, fhould be from that time admitted

into the Achæan league without his confent. From thefe articles it is evident, that the liberties of Achaia were now no more, and that the fovereign of this country was Antigonus.

This tranfaction rouzed the indignation of the Peloponnefian ftates: they looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. That hero, upon hearing that the Macedonians were in motion, took poffeffion of a pafs on the Onean mountains, which commanded the Corinthian ifthmus; but the Achæans having furprized Argos, he was forced to abandon it, and to lay it open for the Macedonians. The Achæans now refumed their fuperiority in Peloponnefus, and moft of the cities in that peninfula were conftrained to fubmit to their power. The efforts of Cleomenes to reftore the liberties of Peloponnefus, and to protect of courfe, thofe of the reft of Greece, equal the moft famed exploits of antiquity. But the wary Antigonus, rich in treafure, artfully protracted the war, and fuffered his impetuous adverfary to wafte his force in vain. Cleomenes was forced to retreat to Selafia, in order to cover Sparta. The difpofition he made of his forces were confummately fkilful. The road leading to Sparta, near the town of Selafia, was confined within very narrow bounds by the Effa and the Olympus hills, of great height and difficult afcent. On one of thefe hills the

Spartan

Spartan king placed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilſt he himſelf took poſt on the other. The glen that divided theſe hills was watered by the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. The lower parts of the hills, and the opening between them, were ſecured by a ditch and a ſtrong rampart. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural ſtrength of this important paſs, had been performed; and no part was to be ſeen on which an attack could be made with any probability of ſucceſs. Antigonus, therefore, encamped at a diſtance, on the plain below, in order to watch the motions of the enemy, and to act according to circumſtances. Cleomenes, reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, was forced to throw open his entrenchments, and without further delay to come to an engagement. All his ſkill and valour, which were eminently diſplayed on this occaſion, could not ſave him from a complete defeat. He fled firſt to Sparta, and from thence to Egypt; where, after various adventures, the loftineſs of his ſpirit, which could not brook the indignities offered to him by the miniſters of Ptolemy Philopater, brought him to an honourable but untimely end.

During the abſence of Antigonus, a multitude of Illyrians, and other barbarians, made an irrup-

tion into Macedon, and committed great devaſtation. This irruption haſtened his return into his own dominions. In a deciſive battle the barbarians were defeated; but the Macedonian king, by ſtraining his voice during the engagement, burſt a blood-veſſel. The conſequent effuſion of blood threw him into a languiſhing ſtate, and he died in the ſpace of a few days, lamented by all Greece.

Antigonus the Second was ſucceeded by Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, the laſt of the Macedonian kings of that name; a prince only in the ſeventeenth year of his age, intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to all the duties of the royal ſtation. This excellent character was formed by a good natural diſpoſition, cultivated by the inſtructions and example of Antigonus, who appointed him his ſucceſſor on the Macedonian throne.

The jealouſy which the Ætolians had long entertained of the Achæan ſtates, was increaſed by the importance which they had aſſumed from their alliance with Macedon. No ſooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus, than they ravaged the Achæan coaſt, and committed depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus having oppoſed to them the Achæan forces in vain, invoked and obtained the aid of the king of Macedon. Philip promiſed that, as ſoon as he ſhould have ſettled the affairs of his own kingdom, he

he would repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the ſtates in alliance with Achaia, that he might have an opportunity of ſettling with them a plan of future operations. In the mean time, the Ætolians, making a freſh irruption into Peloponneſus, ſacked Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, and laid the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynætha had long been remarkable, it ſeems, for a ferocity of manners. They were held in ſuch abhorrence by the reſt of the Arcadians, that, in ſome cities, the admiſſion of a Cynæthean was conſidered as pollution. It is remarkable, that ancient writers aſcribe this profligacy to a neglect of the ſtudy of muſic. But, in whatever contempt the Cynætheans were held, the deſtruction of their city by the Ætolians excited a general indignation throughout Peloponneſus; and the convention of the Achæan confederates, now aſſembled at Corinth, unanimouſly agreed that the Ætolians were guilty; and that, unleſs they ſhould make reparation, war ſhould be declared againſt them, and the direction of it committed to the king of Macedon. Hence the origin of the Social War, ſo called from the aſſociation entered into by the ſeveral ſtates engaged againſt Ætolia. It commenced the firſt year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, being the ſame in which Hannibal laid ſiege to Saguntum,

Saguntum, and continued for the ſpace of three years after.

Philip commenced his operations with the ſiege of Ambracas, a fortreſs which commanded an extenſive territory, belonging of right to Epire, but now in the hands of the Ætolians. Having reduced this fortreſs, he reſtored it to the Epirots, and prepared to carry the war into Ætolia. The Ætolian ſpirit was not daunted either by the loſs of Ambracas, or the threats of Philip. They invade Macedon, and make incurſions into Achaia, which they reduce to the greateſt diſtreſs. The mercenaries in the Achæan ſervice had mutinied for want of pay; the Peloponneſian confederates became ſpiritleſs or diſaffected; even the Meſſenians, in whoſe cauſe chiefly Achaia had, at the beginning, taken up arms, were afraid to act againſt the Ætolians: whilſt the Spartans, notwithſtanding their engagements, at the late convention, to Achaia, had now maſſacred or ſent into exile all ſuch of their own citizens as were in the intereſt of the Achæans, and openly declared againſt them. For the Spartans, amidſt their greateſt humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of Achaia, to which the haughtineſs of that republic had, in all probability, very much contributed.

A year had elapſed ſince the alliance had been formed againſt Achaia, when Philip of Macedon, in the depth of winter, ſet out with the utmoſt

ſecrecy

fecrecy of Corinth, where a part of his forces were ftationed. He furprized a party of Eleans, who had gone forth to ravage the Sicyonian territories, and reduced Pfophis, a ftrong hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had taken poffeffion. He plundered Elis, one of the fineft regions in Greece in refpect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. He next fubdued under his power Tryphalia, a diftrict of Peloponnefus to the fouthward of Elis, and wrefted the Ætolian yoke from the necks of the Meffenians. Philip made a temperate ufe of all his victories. He granted peace to all who fued for it; and the whole of his conduct feemed to be directed by the fame generous motives which had formerly directed that of Antigonus. But in the midft of thefe fair appearances, Philip began to manifeft latent feeds of ambition. He reftrained the pride and power of his minifters, who had been appointed to their offices by his predeceffor Antigonus; and fupported Eperatus in the Election of general of Achaia, in oppofition to Aratus. In order to counterbalance this unpopular meafure, and to ftrengthen himfelf in the affections of the Achæan people, he befieged Teichos, and, having taken that fortrefs reftored it to the Achæans, to whom it belonged. He alfo made an inroad into Elis, and prefented the Dymeans, and the cities in the neigh-

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bourhood, with all the plunder. He now imagined that the wealth and vigour of the Achæan republic were at his difpofal; but the new general had not provided any magazines, and the treafury was exhaufted. Philip now affected to place great confidence in Aratus. By the advice of this ftatefman he made an attempt on the ifland of Cephallenia, an ifland in the Ionian fea, near the coaft of Peloponnefus, and the great refort of the Ætolian pirates. His attempt, after it had been carried on almoft to fuccefs, was baffled by the treachery of his minifters. He now, following the advice of Aratus, invades and ravages Ætolia itfelf, returns into Peloponnefus, lays wafte Laconia, and, flufhed with fuccefs, meditates the fubjection of all Greece, and a junction with Hannibal againft the Romans. Aratus in vain attempted to diffuade him from this project. He fent ambaffadors to the Carthaginian general, but they were intercepted foon after their landing in Italy; as they gave out, however, that they were going to Rome, they, in a little time, obtained their releafe, and made their way to Hannibal, with whom they concluded a treaty. On their return, they were again intercepted, and fent with all their papers to Rome. But Philip difpatched other ambaffadors, and a ratification of the treaty was obtained. It was ftipulated that Philip fhould furnifh a fleet of two hundred fhips, to be employed

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in haraffing the Italian coafts; and that he fhould alfo affift Hannibal with a confiderable body of land forces. In return for this affiftance, when Rome and Italy fhould be finally reduced, which were to remain in the poffeffion of the Carthaginians, Hannibal was to pafs into Epire, at the head of a Carthaginian army, to be employed as Philip fhould defire; and, having made a conqueft of the whole country, to give up to him fuch parts of it as lay convenient for Macedon.

In confequence of this agreement the Macedonian king entered the Ionian gulph with a large fleet, fell down to the coaft of Epire, took Oricum, on the coaft of Epire, a defencelefs fea-port, but from which there was a fhort paffage to Italy, and lay fiege to Apollonia; but, furprized and defeated by the Romans, fecretly retreated homeward acrofs the mountains.

The Romans, humbled by the victorious arms of Hannibal, were not in a condition in which they might profecute a war with Macedon; they therefore determined, if poffible, to raife up enemies againft Philip in Greece, that he might be employed at home in the defence of his own dominions. They accordingly made overtures for this purpofe to the Ætolians, who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambaffador, haftened to conclude a treaty, of which the fol-

lowing were the principal conditions:—That the Ætolians ſhould immediately commence hoſtilities againſt Philip by land, which the Romans were to ſupport by a fleet of twenty gallies; that whatever conqueſts might be made, from the confines of Ætolia to Corcyra, the cities, buildings, and territory, ſhould belong to the Ætolians, but every other kind of plunder to the Romans. The Spartans and Eleans, with other ſtates, were included in this alliance; and the war commenced with the reduction of the iſland of Zacynthus, which, as an earneſt of Roman generoſity and good faith, was immediately annexed to the dominions of Ætolia. Theſe tranſactions were dated about two hundred and eight years before the birth of Chriſt.

The Romans having thus obtained a footing in Greece, ſoon extended and eſtabliſhed their power throughout the whole of that renowned country. Agreeably to their uſual policy, they availed themſelves of the credulity, the diſſentions, the ambition, and the avarice of the different chiefs; ever vigilant to ſupport the weaker againſt the ſtronger party, that the diminiſhed ſtrength of each individual ſtate might lead the way to the conqueſt of the whole.

It has already been obſerved, that Philip aimed at the ſubjection of all Greece. Aratus, who would

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have oppofed him in this defign, he took off by poifon. His intereft in Greece was now ftrengthened by the introduction of the Romans; he was regarded by the Greeks as the champion of freedom, and as their defence againft the Romans, whom they ftill confidered and denominated barbarians. Not only the Greeks northward of the Corinthian ifthmus, but even the Achæan league, prepared to take up arms in his fupport. Encouraged by thefe allies, he acted with uncommon vigour; he carried the war into Illyrium with fuccefs; marched to the relief of the Acarnanians, who were threatened by the Ætolians, and fortified himfelf in Theffaly. The Ætolians, notwithftanding thefe advantages gained over them by Philip, and that they were afterwards defeated by him in two hot engagements, remained undaunted, and profecuted the war with an amazing obftinacy. The neighbouring ftates, now jealous of the fuccefs of Philip, endeavoured to mediate a peace; nor did the Macedonian fhew himfelf unwilling to treat for that purpofe. A peace was ready to be concluded, when the Romans, deeply interefted in the prolongation of war, fent their fleet to fupport the Ætolians; who, encouraged alfo by the profpect of acquiring another ally, Attalus, king of Pergamus, boldly fet Philip at defiance, and talked of terms to which they knew he would not fubmit.

The moderation of Philip ftrengthened the indignation of his Greek confederates againft the Ætolians; a difpofition which he foon found an opportunity of calling forth into action. Intelligence being brought to him, whilft he was affifting at the Nemean games, that the Romans had landed, and were laying wafte the country from Corinth to Sicyon, he inftantly fet out, attacked and repulfed the enemy, and, before the conclufion of the games, returned again to Argos; an atchievement which greatly diftinguifhed him in the eyes of all Greece, affembled at that folemnity. After other vigorous, though unfuccefsful exertions againft the Romans, he was called back, by domeftic infurrections, to Macedon.

The Achæan ftates, though deprived of the powerful aid of the Macedonian king, ftill carried on their military operations under the conduct of Philopœmen, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, an enthufiaft in the caufe of liberty from his earlieft years, and who had been active in bringing over feveral of the Arcadians to join the Achæan league. Soon after the death of Aratus, to whom he was as much fuperior in military, as he was inferior in political abilities, he attained the chief fway in the Achæan councils. He faw with concern the humiliating condition to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and conceived the

noble refolution of relieving them from it. In the character of general of Achaia he improved their difcipline, inured them to hardfhip and toil, and gave them weightier armour, and more powerful weapons. The effect of this difcipline foon appeared: the armies of Ætolia and Elis, which attacked them in Philip's abfence, were totally defeated. In the mean time the Romans, fupported by Attalus, attack Eubœa, of all the provinces of Greece, though an ifland, one of the moft confiderable for fertility of foil, extent of territory, and advantage of fituation. Philip, on his part, kept a watchful eye on his enemies: his military preparations were vigorous, and not without fuccefs. The war was prolonged, with various fuccefs, for fix years, when the Romans and Attalus retired from Greece. A peace was now concluded between the Ætolians and Romans, of the one part, and Philip of the other, whofe fuccefsful ambition led him, by a natural progrefs, to attack the dominions of the king of Egypt.

The Romans, whofe policy it was never to have more enemies on their hand than one at a time, had confented to a peace with Macedon, becaufe they were involved in a war with Carthage; but that war being now at an end, they eagerly embraced the firft pretexts they could find for a rupture with a prince, whofe fucceffes had excited a

jealousy of his growing power. Complaints being brought before that political and powerful people from Attalus, from the Rhodians, from the Athenians, and from Egypt, they readily determined to improve so favourable a juncture. And first, they declared themselves the guardians of the young king of Egypt. Marcus Æmilius was dispatched from Rome, to announce to Philip the intentions of the Roman senate. The ambassador found the king before Abydos, at the head of an army flushed with victory. Philip was not insensible of the advantage of his situation; yet the Roman, undaunted by the deportment of the monarch, charged him, with dignity and firmness, not to attack the possessions of the crown of Egypt; to abstain from war with any of the Grecian states; and to submit the matters in dispute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians, to fair arbitration. "The boastful inexperience of youth," said the king, "thy gracefulness of person, and, still more, "the name of Roman, inspire thee with this "haughtiness. It is my wish that Rome may "observe the faith of treaties; but should she be "inclined again to hazard an appeal to arms, I "trust that, with the protection of the gods, I shall "render the Macedonian name as formidable as "that of the Roman." These things, with the cruel destruction of the city and inhabitants of Abydos,

Abydos, happened about an hundred and ninety-nine years before the birth of Jeſus Chriſt.

Philip, like other ambitious princes, was now on terms of hoſtility with moſt of the neighbouring nations. Rome, on the contrary, was in a ſituation the moſt favourable that could be imagined to her ambition; Carthage was ſubdued; in Italy all remains of inſurrection had ſubſided, Sicily, in fertility and opulence, at that time the pride of the weſtern world, with moſt of the adjacent iſlands, was annexed to her dominions; and even thoſe nations which had not yet felt the force of her arms, heard, with terror, the fame of a people not to be ſubdued even by an Hannibal. About three years, therefore, after peace had been made with Philip, the Romans diſpatched a fleet, under the conduct of the conſul Sulpitius, for the relief of Athens, then beſieged by the Macedonians. Philip is moved with reſentment, and attempts to wreak his vengeance on Athens. Diſappointed in his hope of ſurprizing that city, he laid waſte the country around it, deſtroying even the temples, which he had hitherto affected to venerate, and mangling and defacing every work of art in ſuch a manner, that there ſcarcely remained, according to the Roman hiſtorian Livy, a veſtige of ſymmetry or beauty. Here we have an opportuniy of remarking the contraſt between the genius of Athens,

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in the times of Philip the father of Alexander, and that Philip who now filled the throne of Macedon. The Athenians, haraſſed by the arms of this laſt mentioned prince, had recourſe to the only weapons with which they were now acquainted—the invectives of their orators, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was reſolved, that, "Philip ſhould for ever be an object of "execration to the Athenian people; that whatever ſtatues had been raiſed to him, or to any "of the Macedonian princes, ſhould be thrown "down; that whatever had been enacted in their "favour ſhould be reſcinded; that every place in "which any inſcription or memorail had been ſet up "in praiſe of Philip, ſhould be thenceforth held "profane and unclean; that in all their ſolemn "feaſts, when their prieſts implored a bleſſing on "Athens and her allies, they ſhould pronounce "curſes on the Macedonian, his kindred, his arms "by ſea and land, and the whole Macedonian name "and nation: in a word, that whatever had been "decreed in ancient times againſt the Piſiſtratidæ, "ſhould operate in full force againſt Philip; and "that whoever ſhould propoſe any mitigation of "the reſolutions now formed, ſhould be adjudged "a traitor to his country, and be puniſhed with "death." The flatteries of the Athenians to their allies, were in proportion to their impotent execra-

tions of the Macedonian monarch. Such is the connection between meanness of spirit, and the loss of freedom!

A languid and indecisive war had been carried on for the space of two years between the Macedonians and Romans, during the consulship of Sulpitius, and that of his successor Villius, not much to the honour of these commanders, when the command of the Roman army devolved to the new consul, Titus Quintius Flaminius, not indeed unacquainted, being a Roman, with the science of war, but more remarkable for his skill and address in negociation, than for military genius. The Roman consul, by the vigour of his arms, but still more by the dexterity with which he carried into execution the profound policy of his nation, brought Greece to the lowest state of humiliation. By detaching the most considerable of the Grecian states, particularly the Ætolians and the Achæans, from their connection with Macedon, by ingratiating himself with the Grecian states, whom he managed, after they had become his confederates, with infinite artifice; by making a pompous, but insidious proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemean games, he reduced the Macedonian king to the necessity of first asking a truce, and afterwards of accepting peace on these mortifying

fying conditions, which were entirely approved by the Roman ſenate:—

"That all the Greek cities, both in Aſia and "in Europe, ſhould be free, and reſtored to the "enjoyment of their own laws.

"That Philip, before the next Iſthmian games, "ſhould deliver up to the Romans all the Greeks "he had in any part of his dominions, and to "evacuate all the places he poſſeſſed either in "Greece or in Aſia.

"That he ſhould give up all the priſoners and "deſerters.

"That he ſhould ſurrender all his decked ſhips "of every kind; five ſmall veſſels, and his galley "of ſixteen banks of oars excepted.

"That he ſhould pay the Romans a thouſand "talents, one half down, the reſt at ten equal "annual payments.

"And that, as a ſecurity for the performance "of theſe ſtipulations, he ſhould give hoſtages, "his ſon Demetrius being one." The date of this peace was an hundred and ninety-three years before Chriſt.

Flaminius having made various decrees in favour of the ſeveral Grecian communities in confederacy with the Romans; having expelled Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, from Argos; and having obtained the

the freedom of the Roman ſlaves in Greece, he returned to Rome, to the great ſatisfaction of all Greece; and withdrew, as he had promiſed, all the Roman garriſons.

CHAP. XX.

FROM THE INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS IN ITALY.

ANTIOCHUS, king of Syria, was renowned for the magnificence of his court, great treaſures, numerous armies, military talents, and political wiſdom. He had viſited the coaſts of the Helleſpont, formerly ſubject to the kings of Syria; he had even paſſed over into Thrace, where he had likewiſe claims; and he was preparing to rebuild Lyſimachia, in order to make it again the ſeat of government in the countries anciently poſſeſſed by Lyſimachus. The pretenſions of ſo powerful and political a prince to countries which the Romans had already marked as their own, excited the jealouſy of that ambitious people. They gave him repeated notification, that "by "the treaty with Macedon, the Grecian cities, in "Aſia as well as Europe, had been declared free;

"that Rome expected he would conform to that "declaration:" and farther, "that henceforth, "Asia was to be the boundary of his dominions; "and that any attempt to make a settlement in "Europe would be considered by Rome as an act "of hostility." Antiochus, at first, manifested a disposition to peace, and, in order to obtain it would have made large concessions, could any thing less than the humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition. But Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, no sooner heard of his meditating a war against the Romans than he made his escape from Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Ætolians too solicited him to vindicate the cause of Greece, notwithstanding the delusive shew of liberty granted by Rome, more enthralled in reality than at any formed pericd. Hannibal recommended an invasion of Italy, where alone, in his judgment, Italy was vulnerable. With only eleven thousand land forces, and a suitable naval armament, he offered to carry the war into the heart of that country; provided Antiochus would, at the same time, appear at the head of an army on the western coast of Greece, that, by making a shew of an intended invasion from that quarter, he might divert the attention, and divide the strength of the Romans. The Ætolians, on the other hand, told him, that if

if Greece were made the ſeat of war, there would be, thoughout all that country, a general inſurrection againſt the power of the Romans. Antiochus, having adopted the plan of the Ætolians in preference to that of Hannibal, entered Greece with a ſmall force, and, being diſappointed in his expectations of ſuccour from the Grecian ſtates, was defeated, at the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, by Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman conſul. He eſcaped, with only five hundred men, to Chalcis; from whence he retreated with precipitation to his Aſiatic dominions, an hundred and eighty-ſeven years before the Chriſtian æra.

The Ætolians having rejected the terms of peace offered to them by the Romans, the conſul preſſed forward the ſiege of Heraclea, which ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion. He was preparing to beſiege Naupactus, a ſea port on the Corinthian gulph, of the grateſt importance to the Ætolian nation, who now decreed to *ſubmit themſelves to the faith of the Roman people*, and ſent deputies to intimate this determination to the Roman conſul. Acilius, catching the words of the deputies, ſaid, "Is it then true, that the Ætolians ſubmit themſelves to the faith of Rome?" Phæneas, who was at the head of the Ætolian deputation, replied, "That they did." "Then," continued the conſul, "let no Ætolian, from henceforth, on any account, "public

" public or private, presume to pass over into Asia;
" and let Dicæarchus*, with all who have had any " share in his revolt, be delivered into my hands." " The Ætolians," interrupted Phæneas, " in submitting themselves to the faith of the Romans, " meant to rely upon their generosity, but not to " yield themselves up to servitude: neither the " honour of Ætolia, nor the customs and laws of " Greece, will allow us to comply with your requisition." " It is insolent prevarication," answered the consul, " to mention the honour of Ætolia, " and the customs and laws of Greece; you ought " even to be put in chains." The Ætolians, exasperated even to madness at this imperious treatment of their deputies and nation, were encouraged in their disposition to vindicate their liberties by arms, by the expectation of succours from Asia and from Macedon: but this expectation was disappointed, and they were reduced to the necessity of sending ambassadors to Rome, to implore the clemency of the Roman senate. The only conditions they could obtain, were, either to pay a thousand talents, a sum which, they declared, far exceeded their abilities, and to have neither friend nor foe, but with the approbation of Rome, or to

* *An Ætolian chief, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.*

submit

ſubmit to the pleaſure of the ſenate. The Ætolians deſired to know, what they were to underſtand by "ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the ſenate;" an explanation being refuſed, they were obliged to return uncertain of their fate. The war with Rome was renewed; but the Roman vigour and policy prevailed in the unequal conteſt, and the Ætolians were again obliged to apply to the conſul, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, for mercy. The conditions granted to them were extremely hard: they were heavily fined, obliged to give up ſeveral of their cities and territories to the Romans, and to deliver to the conſul forty hoſtages, to be choſen by him, none under twelve, or above forty years of age. But one expreſs condition comprehended every thing that imperious power might think fit to impoſe: the Ætolians were to pay *obſervance* to the *empire* and *majeſty* of the Roman people.

The predominant power of the Achæans in the Peloponneſus, now became the object of Roman jealouſy and ambition. Though confederated with Achaia, the Peloponneſian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a ſpecies of independent ſovereignty. No ſooner was peace concluded with Ætolia, than Marcus Fulvius Nobilior to whom the conduct of the Ætolian war had been committed on the expiration of the conſulſhip of Acilius, took up his reſidence in the iſland of Ce-

 phalenia,

phalenia, that he might be ready, upon the firſt appearance of any diſpute in Achaia, to paſs over into Peloponneſus, and improve every diſſenſion, for the aggrandizement of the Roman republic. Such an opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf: the congreſs of the Achæan ſtates had always been heldat Ægium; but Philopœmen, now the Achæan general, having determined to divide among all the cities of the league, the advantages of a general convention, had named Argos for the next diet. This innovation the inhabitants of Ægium opposed, and appealed to the Roman conſul for his deciſion. Another pretext for paſſing over into Greece, was alſo ſoon offered to Fulvius. The Lacedæmonian exiles, who had been baniſhed in the days of the tyrants, and never reſtored, reſiding in towns along the coaſt of Laconia, protected by Achæan garriſons, cut off the inhabitants of Lacedæmon from all intercouſe with the ſea-coaſt. One of thoſe maritime towns was attacked by the Spartans, in the night-time, but defended by the exiles, with the aſſiſtance of the Achæan ſoldiery. Philopœmen repreſented this attempt of the Spartans, as an inſult on the whole Achæan body. He obtained a decree in favour of the exiles, commanding the Lacedæmonians, on pain of being treated as enemies, to deliver up the authors of that outrage. This decree the

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Lacedæmonians refuſed to obey. They diſſolved their alliance with Achaia, and offered their city to the Romans. In revenge of this, Philopœmen, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, laid waſte the territories of Lacedæmon.

The Romans, thus invited to act as umpires in Greece, found means to break the ſtrength of the commonwealth of Achaia, by ſeducing its confederate ſtates; a conduct which, in the eyes of pure morality, muſt appear enormouſly treacherous; but which, if in the ambitious deſigns of ſtates and princes, the certain attainment of the end be conſidered as a ſufficient juſtification of the means, muſt be deemed refined policy. By the intrigues of Roman emiſſaries too, a party of Meſſenians took up arms againſt the Achæans; and Philopœmen haſtening to ſuppreſs the inſurgents, fell into their hands, and was put to death.

During theſe tranſactions in Greece, the Romans, jealous of the increaſing power of their ally, Philip of Macedon, ſought an occaſion of quarrelling with him, and, agreeably to their uſual policy, encouraged every complaint, and ſupported the pretenſions of his enemies, prepared to plunder them too in their turns, when the Macedonian power ſhould no longer be formidable. The ſmall cantons or communities of Theſſaly, in which he had re-eſtabliſhed his authority, were now en-

couraged to aſſert their independence; and the Macedonian king was called to account for thoſe very outrages which he had committed on the ſide of the Romans. Commiſſioners were appointed for the ſettlement of differences. Philip is required by them to evacuate Ænos and Maronea, which were claimed by Eumenes. Theſe were cities on the Helleſpont, which, from their maritime ſituation, afforded many advantages. The complexion and deſigns of the Roman commiſſioners were obvious; and Philip judging it vain to keep meaſures with men, determined at any rate to take part with his adverſaries, expoſtulated with them with great boldneſs, on the injuſtice, treachery, and ingratitude of their nation. In this temper of mind he wreaked his revenge on the Maronites, whoſe ſolicitations, he ſuppoſed, had been employed againſt him. A body of his fierceſt Thracian mercenaries being introduced into Maronea, on the night before the Macedonian garriſon was to march out, on pretence of a ſudden tumult, put to the ſword all the inhabitants ſuſpected of favouring the Roman intereſt, without diſtinction of condition, age, or ſex, and left the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. The Romans threaten to revenge this maſſacre, and Philip is obliged to ſend his ſecond ſon Demetrius to Rome, to make an apology. The Roman

man ſenate, with a view to debauch the filial affection of Demetrius, and to draw him over to the intereſts of Rome, told him, that on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct ſhould be paſſed over ; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well aſſured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that juſtice required : that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent, to ſee all matters properly ſettled: and that, from the regard they bore to the ſon, they were willing to excuſe the father. This meſſage excited in the breaſt of Philip a ſuſpicion of the connection formed between Rome and Demetrius; which ſuſpicion was inflamed by the inſinuations and dark artifices of his eldeſt ſon Perſeus, a prince, according to the Roman writers, of an intriguing and turbulent diſpoſition, ſordid, ungenerous, and ſubtle. Perſeus and Demetrius were both in the bloom of life ; the former aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome, but born of a mother of mean deſcent, a ſempſtreſs of Argos, and of ſo queſtionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he was really Philip's ſon. Demetrius was five years younger, born of his queen, a lady of royal extraction. Hence Perſeus had conceived ſuch a jealouſy of his brother, and was inſidiouſly active to undermine him in the royal favour. He accuſed Demetrius to the

king of a defign to affaffinate him. Philip, familiarized as he was to acts of blood, was ftruck with horror at the relation of Perfeus. Retiring into the inner apartment of his palace, with two of his nobles, he fat in folemn judgment on his two fons, being under the agonizing neceffity, whether the charge fhould be proved or difproved, of finding one of them guilty. Diftracted by his doubts, Philip fent Philocles and Apelles, two noblemen, to proceed as his ambaffadors to Rome, with inftructions to find out, if poffible, with what perfons Demetrius correfponded, and what were the ends he had in view.

Perfeus, profoundly artful, and having the advantage of being the heir apparent to the Macedonian crown, fecretly gained over to his intereft his father's ambaffadors, who returned to the king with an account that Demetrius was held in the higheft eftimation at Rome, and that his views appeared to have been of an unjuftifiable kind; delivering at the fame time, a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintus Flaminius. The hand-writing of the Roman, and the impreffion of his fignet, the king was well acquainted with; and the exactnefs of the imitation induced him to give entire credit to the contents, more efpecially as Flaminius had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius. The prefent letter

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was written in a different ſtrain. The author acknowledged the criminality of Demetrius, who indeed he confeſſed, aimed at the throne; but for whom, as he had not meditated the death of any of his own blood, he interceded with the monarch. The iſſue of this atrocious intrigue is truly tragical. Demetrius, found guilty of deſigns againſt the crown and the life of his father, is put to death. Philip when too late, diſcovered that he had been impoſed upon by a forgery, and died of a broken heart.

Perſeus ſucceeded his father on the throne of Macedon, an hundred and ſeventy-five years before the birth of Chriſt. The firſt meaſures of his government appeared equally gracious and political. He aſſumed an air of benignity and gentleneſs. He not only recalled all thoſe whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the courſe of the late reign, driven from their country: but he even ordered the income of their eſtates, during their exile, to be reimburſed. His deportment to all his ſubjects was happily compoſed of regal dignity and parental tenderneſs. The ſame temper which regulated his behaviour to his own ſubjects, he diſplayed in his conduct towards foreign ſtates. He courted the affections of the Grecian ſtates, and diſpatched ambaſſadors to requeſt a confirmation of the treaties ſubſiſting between Rome

and Macedon. The ſenate acknowledged his title to the throne, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people. His inſinuations and intrigues with his neighbours were the more effectual, that moſt of them began to preſage what they had to expect, ſhould the dominion of Rome be extended over all Greece, and looked upon Macedon as the bulwark of their freedom from the Roman yoke. The only ſtates that ſtood firm to the Roman cauſe, were Athens and Achaia. But in this all of them now agreed, that foreign aid was on all occaſions neceſſary to prop the tottering remains of fallen liberty, which by this time was little elſe than a choice of maſters. Beſides all thoſe advantages which Perſeus might derive from the well-grounded jealouſy of Roman ambition, he ſucceeded to all thoſe mighty preparations which were made by his father. But all this ſtrength came to nothing: it terminated in diſcomfiture, and the utter extinction of the royal family of Macedon. He loſt all the advantages he enjoyed, through avarice, meanneſs of ſpirit and want of real courage. The Romans diſcovering, or ſuſpecting, his ambitious deſigns, ſought and found occaſion of quarrelling with him. A Roman army paſſes into Greece. This army for the ſpace of three years, does nothing worthy of the Roman name; but Perſeus, infatuated or ſtruck with a

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panic, neglects to improve the repeated opportunities which the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him. Lucius Æmilius Paulus, elected consul, restores and improves the discipline of the Roman army, which, under the preceding commanders, had been greatly relaxed. He advanced against Perseus, drives him from his entrenchments on the banks of the river Enipeus, and engages and defeats him under the walls of Pydna. On the ruin of his army Perseus fled to Pella. He gave vent to the distraction and ferocity of his mind, by murdering with his own hand two of his principal officers, who had ventured to blame some parts of his conduct. Alarmed at this act of barbarity, his other attendants refused to approach him; so that being at a loss where to hide himself, or whom to trust, he returned from Pella, which he had reached only about midnight, before break of day. On the third day after the battle he fled to Amphipolis. Being driven by the inhabitants from thence, he hastened to the sea-side, in order to pass over into Samothrace, hoping to find a secure asylum in the reputed holiness of that place. Having arrived thither, he took shelter in the temple of Castor and Pollux. Abandoned by all the world, his eldest son Philip only excepted, without a probability of escape, and even destitute of the means of subsistence,

fiſtence, he ſurrendered to Octavius, the Roman pretor, who tranſported him to the Roman camp. Perſeus approached the conſul with the moſt abject ſervility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his ſuppliant arms, to graſp his knees. "Why, wretched man," ſaid the Roman, "why doſt thou acquit fortune of what might ſeem "her crime, by a behaviour which evinces that "thou deſerveſt not her indignation? Why doſt "thou diſgrace my laurels, by ſhewing thyſelf an "abject adverſary, and unworthy of having a Ro- "man to contend with?" He tempered, however, this humiliating addreſs by raiſing him from the ground, and encouraging him to hope for every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. After being led in triumph through the ſtreets of Rome, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he ſtarved himſelf to death. His eldeſt ſon Philip, and one of his younger ſons, are ſuppoſed to have died before him. Another of his ſons, Alexander, was employed by the chief magiſtrates of Rome in the office of a writing clerk.

Within the ſpace of fifteen days after Æmilius had begun to put his army in motion, all the armament was broken and diſperſed; and, within two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had ſubmitted to the conſul. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to aſſiſt that magiſtrate

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in the arrangement of Macedonian affairs. A new form of government was eftablifhed in Macedon, of which the outlines had been drawn at Rome. On this occafion the Romans exhibited a ftriking inftance of their policy in governing by the principle of divifion. The whole kingdom of Macedon was divided into four diftricts; the inhabitants of each were to have no connection, intermarriages, or exchange of poffeffions, with thofe of the other diftricts, but every part to remain wholly diftinct from the reft. And among other regulations tending to reduce them to a ftate of the moft abject flavery, they were inhibited from the ufe of arms, unlefs in fuch places as were expofed to the incurfions of the barbarians. Triumphal games at Amphipolis, exceeding in magnificence all that this part of the world had ever feen, and to which all the neighbouring nations, both European and Afiatic, were invited, announced the extended dominion of Rome, and the humiliation not only of Macedon, but of Greece: for now the fovereignty of Rome found nothing in that part of the world that was able to oppofe it. The Grecian ftates fubmitted to various and multiplied arts of oppreffion, without a ftruggle. The government which retained the longeft a portion of the fpirit of ancient times, was the Achæan. In their treatment of Achaia the

the Romans, although they had gained over to their interefts feveral of the Achæan chiefs, were obliged to proceed with great circumfpection, left the deftruction of their own creatures fhould defeat their defigns. They endeavoured to trace fome veftiges of a correfpondence between the Achæan body and the late king of Macedon; and when no fuch veftiges could be found, they determined that fiction fhould fupply the place of evidence. Caius Claudis, and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, were fent as commiffioners from Rome, to complain that fome of the firft men of Achaia had acted in concert with Macedon. At the fame time they required, that all who were in fuch a predicament fhould be fentenced to death: promifing that after a decree for that purpofe fhould be enacted, they would produce the names of the guilty. "Where," exclaimed the affembly, "would be the juftice of fuch a proceeding? Firft "name the perfons you accufe, and make good "your charge." "I name then," faid the commiffioner, "all thofe who have borne the office "of chief magiftrate of Achaia, or been the leaders "of your armies." "In that cafe," anfwered Xeno, an Achæan nobleman, "I too fhall be ac-"counted guilty, for I have commanded the ar-"mies of Achaia, and yet I am ready to prove "my innocence, either here, or before the fenate "of

"of Rome." "You ſay well," replied one of the Roman commiſſioners, laying hold on his laſt words, "let the ſenate of Rome then be the tri-"bunal before which you ſhall anſwer." A decree was framed for this end, and above a thouſand Achæan chiefs were tranſported into Italy, an hundred and ſixty-three years before Chriſt.

CHAP. XXI.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS, TO THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

THE tranſportation of the leaders of Achaia, may juſtly be conſidered as the captivity of Greece. The only barrier that remained againſt the tyranny of Rome was now removed. The nobleſt leaders and ableſt counſellors of the Achæans being taken away, the ſtrength of that confederacy was broken, their councils being henceforth unſtable and turbulent; and, leaſt it ſhould ever be reſtored, the Romans were careful to encourage faction and diſſenſions among the different ſtates that compoſed it; holding out, with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh for, in the name of the Roman

Roman Senate, protection and affiftance to all who fhould confent to be difmembered from that body. A general ferment prevailed throughout all Greece. There was fcarcely a fingle ftate or city that was not tainted with corruption, or torn in pieces by difcord. The Roman policy and arms eafily prevailed over the feeble refentment of an effeminate, corrupt, and divided people. It was in vain that the Achæans, who may be ftyled the laft nation of the Greeks, provoked by the perfidy of Rome, made an attempt to vindicate their liberty by arms. The Achæan conftitution was, at length, finally diffolved by a Roman decree, and the feveral ftates and cities which compofed the league declared diftinct and independent. Popular affemblies were abolifhed throughout the whole of Peloponnefus, and what fmall fhare of adminiftration the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people to a few whofe eftates the Romans confidered as a pledge of their obedience; and, left any individual fhould acquire an influence that might be troublefome to Rome, they not only took care to impoverifh the more opulent families by fines and fevere taxations, but alfo prefcribed bounds, beyond which a Grecian fhould not increafe his poffeffions. Greece was now reduced to a Roman province, known

known by the name of Achaia, in which were comprized Peloponnefus, Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the fouth of Epire and Theffaly. The countries to the north of that line, to the utmoft limits of the Macedonian monarchy, was the province of Macedon.

Greece, now funk in that mafs of nations which compofed the Roman empire, had loft every veftige of national exiftence; and while fhe was excluded from all participation in the profperity of her conquerors, fhe fhared deeply in their misfortunes. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the ableft and moft enterprizing prince that ever took up arms againft Rome, defeated the Roman generals, and excited a general maffacre of the Romans and Italians throughout Afia. The Grecians groaning under the Roman yoke, arranged themfelves under the banners of fo formidable an enemy to their oppreffors. But the armies of Mithridates are at laft defeated by the vigour, the refources, and the ability of Sylla; and the Grecian ftates, above all Athens and Bœotia, fatiate the vengeance of the furious conqueror. The calamities of the Mithridatic war were foon followed by the depredations of the Cilician corfairs, who gradually rofe to a degree of power that feemed to promife nothing lefs than the dominion of the Mediterranean.

nean. They not only attacked ſhips, but alſo aſ-ſailed towns and iſlands. They were maſters of a thouſand gallies, completely equipped; and the cities of which they were in poſſeſſion amounted to four hundred. For a period of near forty years they had continued to ravage Greece, when they were at laſt reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion, and diſperſed in different inland countries by Pompey. Greece was ſo depopulated in conſequence of theſe calamities, that it was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to tranſport a conſiderable body of theſe pirates into Peloponneſus. The civil wars of Rome drenched Greece with blood; and when that war was concluded, whoever had not appeared on the ſide of the victor was conſidered as his enemy. Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had ſuffered many oppreſſions under the emperors, and from the repeated invaſions of barbarians, when the acceſſion of Conſtantine the Great to the imperial throne, ſeemed to promiſe to the Grecian annals a new æra of glory. Having ſubdued or quieted all his enemies, he made choice of the confines of Greece for his place of reſidence; and the ſhores of the Thracian Boſphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been planted, now gave a new capital to the world. The converſion of this monarch

narch to the Chriſtian faith, was followed by a rapid diffuſion of the goſpel throughout the empire. In Greece it ſerved to prove that the Grecian character had, in ſome reſpects, out-lived thoſe moral cauſes which undoubtedly had the principal ſhare in forming it. In their theological diſputes they diſplayed all that verſatility of genius, that quickneſs of wit, that never-ceaſing curioſity, and fondneſs for diſputation, which diſtinguiſhed the Greeks in the moſt flouriſhing period of their hiſtory. Conſtantine, by dividing his dominions among his three ſons, involved the empire in the flames of civil war. The fortune of Conſtantius prevailed, and raiſed him to undivided empire. Julian ſupplanted Conſtantius on the imperial throne, by means of the favour of the ſoldiers. This was the famous apoſtate from the Chriſtian faith to paganiſm, in which he either was or pretended to be, as great a bigot as he had been before zealous in the Chriſtian cauſe. Philoſophy ſtill flouriſhed in Athens; and here it was that the mind of Julian, who purſued his ſtudies there before he was raiſed to the empire, with infinite application, was alienated from the true religion, which he overturned, and re-eſtabliſhed paganiſm in its ſtead. The ſucceſſors of Julian reſtored the religion of the goſpel, but not the public proſperity, undermined by the deſpotiſm of a military government, and a general pufil-

pufillanimity and profligacy of manners. Thefe invited attacks on the empire on every fide. Jovian was forced to yield a confiderable territory to the Perfian monarch. In Britain the Roman ramparts were oppofed in vain to the hardy valour of the north: even the legionary troops had been found unable to fuftain the fhocks of the unconquered Caledonians. The German tribes renewed their inroads into Gaul. Africa rebelled; and a fpirit of difcontent and infurrection began to appear among the barbarian tribes on the Danube. In the reign of the emperor Valens, the Huns, a new tribe of barbarians, in manners and afpect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontiers, plundered and drove from their fettlements the Gothic tribes on the further fide of the Danube. Gratian, nephew and heir to Valens, fhared the empire with Theodofius, whom the calamities of the times raifed to the possession of the whole. The abilities and perfonal valour of this prince beftowed on the empire an appearance of vigour during his reign: but his fons, Arcadius and Honorius, between whom he divided the empire, brought up in the bofom of a luxurious palace, and funk in effeminacy, were unequal to the tafk of governing an empire weakened by divifion. The reign of Honorius concluded the Roman empire in the Eaft. Alaric, the Gothic chief, who,

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five and twenty years before, deemed it an honour to bear arms on the fide of the empire, was adorned with the imperial purple. Auguftulus, the laft Roman who was graced with the imperial dignity at Rome, was compelled to abdicatethe Weftern Empire by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, about the year of Chrift four hundred and feventy-five.

Amidft the calamities which attended and followed after this revolution, Greece faw her magnificent cities laid in ruins, her numerous towns levelled with the ground, and thofe monuments of her glory, which had hitherto efcaped barbarian outrage, defaced and overthrown: while the wretched defcendants of men who bleffed the nation with fcience and art, were either enflaved by the invaders, or led into captivity, or flaughtered by the fwords of barbarians. Without inhabitants, or cultivation, and buried as it were in ruins, Greece was too infignificant to be an object of ambition, and left to the poffeffion of any of the rovers of thofe days who chofe to make a temporary fettlement in that defolated country. Conftantinople itfelf, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a fhadow of greatnefs. The chief inhabitants were thofe families who, during the incurfions of the barbarians, had made their efcape to the mountains. Such was the ftate of Greece, with little variation,

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SERFOOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

from the Gothic invaſion to the final overthrow of the Eaſtern Empire by the Ottoman arms, in the year of the Chriſtian era one thouſand four hundred and fifty-three.

But in the midſt of war, devaſtation, and ſlavery, Greece continued long to be the ſeat of Philoſophy and the fine arts. Whatever conjectures may be formed concerning the advancement of ſcience in India and in Egypt, it is certain that Greece was the country which enlightened, exalted, and adorned the reſt of Europe, and ſet an example of whatever is beautiful and great to the nations. It was the genius of Greece that formed thoſe very politicians and heroes who firſt bent her lofty ſpirit under the yoke of foreign dominion. It was in Thebes, under the tuition of Epaminondas that Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, was trained to a love of glory, and all thoſe arts and accompliſhments of both peace and war, by which it is beſt attained. It was a Grecian philoſopher that taught Alexander how to manage the paſſions, and govern the minds of men; while the writings of Homer, by a moſt powerful contagion, inſpired his mind with a contempt of danger and death in the purſuit of glory. His captains, who ſucceeded him in the government of his diſmembered empire, were, as well as himſelf, inſtructed in the literature and the philoſophy of Greece. The Macedonian vigour

gour was fortified and directed by Grecian invention. As the light of Greece illuminated her Macedonian, ſo it ſpread over her Roman conquerors. Philoſophy, literature, and arts, began to follow glory and empire to Rome in the times of Sylla and Lucullus; and, in their progreſs, drew to different ſchools every man of rank, and, as we would ſay, of faſhion, in Italy. Wealth, luxury, corruption, and, at laſt, tyranny, baniſhed it from Rome; but while it laſted, it made up, in ſome degree, for the want of liberty; and, if it was unable to reſiſt oppreſſive power, it ſuſtained the mind in the midſt of ſufferings. The Stoic, with an erect countenance, beheld the inſtruments of his death, ſubmitting to the will of fate, and acquieſcing in the order of the univerſe, of which, living or dead, he could not but form a portion. Even in the worſt of times, when the Roman empire was in the laſt period of its decline, amidſt the ruins of the ancient world, diſtracted by internal diviſions, and torn to pieces by the incurſions of barbarous nations from the eaſt, north, and ſouth, a ſucceſſion of ingenious, learned, and contemplative minds, tranſmitted the ſacred light of truth (which, like the ſun, though eclipſed or obſcured, never deſerts the world) from one age to another. After the invaſion of Egypt by the Saracens, and the deſtruction of the library of Alexandria, then the

the feat of literature and fcience, the only place where philofophy remained was Conftantinople. Here the ancient metaphyfical difputes were revived, and paffed into, or rather formed, theological controverfy. This divided and diftracted the capital of the Eaftern Empire, at the very time when it was befieged by the Turks. Even under the dominion of thofe bigotted and indocile barbarians, the Greek learning and philofophy are not wholly extinguifhed in Greece. In the patriarch's univerfity of Conftantinople the fciences are taught in the ancient Greek language, and in the fame language the profeffors converfe with their fcholars.

The learned Greeks who fled from Conftantinople, when it was taken by the Turks, into Italy, found protection not more comfortable to themfelves than aufpicious to learning and philofophy, in the Medici of Florence, and in pope Leo the Tenth of the fame family. The Greek language became fo fafhionable in Italy, that even the ladies underftood it, and fpoke it. In general the Greek philofophy was cultivated in Italy about a century after the revival of literature, and taught particularly by the Jefuits with great diligence and fuccefs. From Italy the arts and fciences fpread over France; and fo late as the middle, or rather a more advanced period of the laft century.

The

The modern Greeks, without the leaſt political importance, and ſunk in ſlavery to a military government, retain but little of their original character. The gradations by which that character faded away are clearly diſcernible in their hiſtory, and preſent to the attentive eye a ſpeculation of great curioſity and importance. The relaxation of manners gradually undermined the political inſtitutions of the leading ſtates of Greece, and the complete ſubverſion of theſe, re-acting on manners, accelerated the declination of virtue. Simplicity, modeſty, temperance, ſincerity, and good faith, fled firſt: the laſt of the virtues that took its flight was military valour. Still, however, the ardent temper of the Greeks burſt forth on various occaſions; ſtill they were diſtinguiſhed by a quick ſenſibility to benefits and to injuries, haſty reſolutions, and haſty repentance. Tyranny too effectually quieted this tumult of paſſion; the oppreſſed Greek, humbled to the duſt, was forced to kiſs the hand that was lifted up for his deſtruction. A quickneſs of invention, an acuteneſs of judgment, a ſubtlety in argumentation, have ſurvived the extinction of virtue and a characteriſtical haſtineſs of temper. Theſe are ſtill to be found in the diſputations of the ſchools, and the profound, though diſhonourable, artifices of the Grecian merchants.

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